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10 Weekly Review Iran's face-lift



7 Arts & Entertainment Love in red and white



24 Sports Cowboys out of NFL playoffs

INDEX Arts & Entertainment 7 Business 19 Crossword 23 Movies/TV 23 Opinion 8 Sports 24



Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, with Palestinian Authority Civil Affairs Minister Jamil Tarifi looking over his shoulder, speaks to the press after meeting with members of the PA cabinet in Ramallah yesterday.

Farrakhan arrival catches government by surprise

By JAY BUSHINSKY and news agencies Controversial US black leader Louis Farrakhan caught Israeli officialdom off guard when he showed up yesterday at the Allenby Bridge for a visit of both Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

Khatami calls for dialogue with American people

Washington: Teheran's talk must be coupled with deeds By BARRY HAY TEHERAN (Reuters) - President Mohammed Khatami went further yesterday than any other leader of revolutionary Iran in opening the way to dialogue with the US, saying he hopes for a thoughtful dialogue with the American people "in the close future."

Cabinet unable to give PM pullback map for Albright

Mordechai, Sharon at loggerheads over scope of withdrawal

By JAY BUSHINSKY Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu will not be able to show a pullback map to US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright in their planned meeting Thursday, nor will he be able to even give her a percentage figure concerning the scope of the prospective redeployment, government sources said yesterday.



Foreign Minister David Levy speaks with Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu at yesterday's cabinet meeting.

IDF. The other represents "national interests" and includes all settlements, as well as their needs, such as roads and water, government sources said. However, the percentages included in Mordechai's maps are being kept secret.

Gov't OKs health-basket expansion

By JUDY SIEGEL and DAVID HARRIS The cabinet yesterday approved an agreement between long-feuding Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman and Health Minister Yehoshua Matza that adds 14 vital drugs to the basket of health services that insurers must provide their clients.

Jewish grandmother front-runner in Guyana

By MARILYN HENRY A Jewish grandmother from Chicago is likely today to become the president of Guyana, a South American nation in which 90 percent of the people trace their ancestry to India or Africa.

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Textile workers demand jobs

Textile workers pull down police barricades and burn signs opposite the Prime Minister's Office yesterday. Hundreds of textile workers came to Jerusalem to protest their dismissals. The workers demanded to return to work, saying they were not interested in receiving severance pay. Kitan Industries laid off 250 workers last week following a decision to cut back the company's spinning and weaving operations. Kitan announced yesterday that PCB, a Migdal Ha'emek maker of printed circuit boards, and Elite's Nazareth-based operation will absorb 'dozens' of the employees Kitan laid off. The company also is discussing arrangements with other potential employers.

(Text: Jennifer Friedfir; Photo: Brian Hendler)

High Court asked to place cap on yeshiva deferments

By **BATSHEVA TSUR** and **ARIEH O'SULLIVAN**

Despite a growing number of draft deferments for haredi yeshiva students, the Defense Ministry does not plan to change its induction policy.

This emerges from the state response to a petition to the High Court of Justice by MKs Amnon Rubinstein and Haim Oron (both Meretz).

Rubinstein has requested the court order the ministry to show cause why it will not stipulate "a reasonable maximum quota" for yeshiva student deferments. The case will be heard tomorrow.

According to the response submitted by Uzi Fogelman, head of the Justice Ministry, there were 26,262 deferments in 1995 (6.4 percent of recruits) and 26,547 (7.5%) in 1996.

"Over the years, there have been numerous private members bills presented to the Knesset on changing this status quo. None of them reached advanced legislative stages," the state response notes.

According to existing legislation, the defense minister has the discretion to decide on the mat-

ter.

In 1995, it notes, then-defense minister Yitzhak Rabin received the findings of a committee he had empowered to investigate the issue, headed by Defense Ministry deputy director-general Haim Yisraeli.

It recommended that the ministry review the situation from time to time in keeping with security needs.

It also expresses doubts about the efficacy of the yeshiva students as soldiers, should they be forced to serve.

In the state response, Fogelman says that "the statistics... do not show evidence, at this stage, of a fear that state security could really be affected. Fixing a ceiling could create substantive legal and public difficulties."

The state plans to request that the court reject the petition on the grounds that it is not qualified to deal with the issue.

Rubinstein said that the petition is different from previous ones in that it only calls for setting a limit on the number of deferments for yeshiva students.

Previous petitions had sought to dissolve the arrangement altogether.

Rubinstein blasted Defense

Minister Yitzhak Mordechai's refusal to set a ceiling, saying it was contrary to the Yisraeli study, which found that a whopping 40 percent of those gaining deferments on religious grounds did not really study in yeshivot as they claimed.

"The minister of defense has to react to Haim Yisraeli. What he has done instead is make a decision based on political reasons instead of defense ones," Rubinstein said.

Rubinstein and Oron are seeking a ceiling of 4%. According to Rubinstein, the number of people seeking deferments to study in yeshivot has doubled in the past four years.

At this rate, by the end of the century one out of every 10 people eligible for the draft will be deferred for religious reasons.

Rubinstein also criticized the lax treatment of draft dodgers, saying that 92% wind up getting released from the military altogether.

"What is worse is that those few who are eventually tried are given minimal fines of NIS 1,000-NIS 1,500. They are getting a prize for evading military service," Rubinstein said. "This is increasing the burden on those who do serve."

Memorial for Jewish veterans set for Ammunition Hill

By **ARIEH O'SULLIVAN**

A monument honoring all the world's Jewish war veterans is to be erected on Jerusalem's Ammunition Hill, site of one of the most famous battles in the 1967 reunification of the city.

The decision was made at a recent London meeting of the organizing committee of the World Assembly of Jewish War Veterans, said Maj.-Gen. (res.) Moshe Nativ, Israel's representative and initiator of the monumental project.

Nativ, chairman of Tzevet, the organization of IDF pensioners, said he saw the monument not only as a memorial but as a unique tourist attraction for visitors who may wish to learn more of Jewish valor in armies around the world.

"It's not a gimmick," Nativ said. "It doesn't exist anywhere else in

the world and the only place it can truly be set up is here in Israel."

Nativ said he proposed the idea to the French, English, and American members of the committee, who enthusiastically endorsed it. The proposal is to be brought before a world gathering of Jewish veterans in Jerusalem in February for final approval.

"The idea is that whoever wants to identify with a Jewish fighter will have an address. The site chosen was Ammunition Hill," Nativ said.

Some 250 Jewish veterans are expected to participate in the ceremony scheduled for February 16-19 as part of the 50th anniversary celebrations. Participants will be coming from the US, South Africa, Greece, France, England, Finland, and the former Soviet Union, Nativ said. They will be meeting with President Ezer

Weizman and top IDF officers, including Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin Shahak.

Nativ also wants to establish a library and center at the museum that will allow research into Jewish fighters in history.

"This memorial could enhance its development of the whole issue of Jewish warriors," Nativ said. "No money will be asked for. No money will be asked for erecting the monument will come from private donations. I think that we will find plenty of willing contributors to this project."

Nativ said the monument would be symbolic of a Jewish fighter. Col. (res.) Shimon Cabaner, current director of the museum at Ammunition Hill, praised the idea of a memorial for Jewish veterans worldwide at the site of his museum.

Benizri denies reports he plans to run in election for mayor of Jerusalem

By **ELI WOHLGELER**

MK Shlomo Benizri (Shas) yesterday denied published reports that he plans to run for mayor of Jerusalem, but said he has not ruled out the possibility.

"A journalist called and asked whether it was true I'm going to run for mayor," Benizri said. "I told him that I didn't speak about it with anyone yet, that I had to speak with Aryeh Deri and Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, but that it was true that many people I meet in the street tell me that if I ran, they would support me."

Benizri said he spoke with Deri and other Sephardi leaders over the weekend, and that they "took a decision for now not to do anything. We have to think about it. For now, my answer is negative."

Benizri said one issue would be how much support his candidacy would have among the other Orthodox parties.

"If the haredim will not support me, we won't do anything," he said. "If they will support me, we can talk about the future, because I believe many secular people will support me."

Benizri said that the secular community trusts him because "I speak their language, and they feel that I can connect between secular and religious people. I think that even the Arabs will support me."

A spokesman for Mayor Ehud Olmert said the mayor would not comment on particular candidates, but that he "gives his blessing to everyone thinking about running, and he hopes that it will be a



MK Shlomo Benizri (Isaac Harari)

democratic and fair vote." Benizri said he has a very good, friendly relationship with Olmert - "I don't have anything against

him" - and that he was upset about the report because "Olmert will think that I am going against him. But you can tell him that I don't have any plans."

Deputy Mayor Rabbi Chaim Miller (United Torah Judaism) was quoted as saying that his party would not support any haredi candidate for mayor, as it would only serve to increase tensions between the Orthodox and non-Orthodox camps in the capital.

One political insider said it would be difficult for Benizri to form a viable coalition because "haredim are not a majority in the city, the National Religious Party would never vote haredi, Ashkenazim would not vote for a Sephardi, and the haredim never take a *ba'al teshuva* (returnee to religion) as their leader."

PALESTINIAN PRESS REVIEW

By **MICHAEL SELA**

Islamic conference

The Islamic conference in Teheran last week received worldwide attention. While important leaders of Islamic countries preferred to stay at home, the Palestinians attended at the highest level.

Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat's participation in the conference was covered by the Palestinian newspapers in minute details.

The entire text of Arafat's speech to the conference was printed in all three dailies.

Commentators looked at the conference in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. A cartoon in the official *al-Hayat al-Jadida* showed the Islamic world as a person with one eye pulled out.

It is Jerusalem, symbolized by the Dome of the Rock, which Netanyahu holds in his hands.

The visit of Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai to Ankara during the conference was not a coincidence, according to Nabil Khouri in *al-Quds*. Relating to a US declaration that Mordechai's visit was an element on the road to solve the Middle East problems, Khouri asked "whether both countries' attitude toward Syria and Iraq is one of the means for peace, which our shallow political education is unable to understand?"

Iran's treatment of the problems raised during the conference and its efforts to end it with a moderate declaration proved that Iran has gradually been changing its radical image, according to Hani Habib in *al-Ayyam*.

Despite echoes of Iranian internal struggles, "it seems that Iran succeeded to challenge the American will, break the blockade of isolation and return forcefully to the international arena."

Furthermore, the wide Arab attendance, despite bitter rivalries with Teheran, was another official challenge to the American policy in the region after the failure of the Doha economic conference.

The real lesson will be the ability of Arab and Islamic states to overcome internal conflicts and create mechanisms to prevent more conflicts in the future, wrote Basem Jitr in *al-Quds*.

PA census

The first Palestinian general census was the national event of the week.

Al-Hayat al-Jadida published telephone numbers, E-mail and web-site addresses for the census office, along with its daily reports on the controversy surrounding the census.

A general census of the population is an essential procedure for any economic, social, cultural and even political activity, wrote *al-Quds* in an editorial. The census is needed also to collect facts for the final settlement of the conflict.

"Therefore, it is strange that Israel puts obstacles in the way of the project," according to *al-Quds*. Even though Israel has declared the annexation of eastern Jerusalem, officially the fate of the city is to be negotiated by both sides, not by one-sided procedures.

"Has Israel anything to hide?" asked *al-Quds* a rhetorical question, adding that, "as long as Palestinians live in Jerusalem, the Palestinian Authority has the right to know all statistical facts about them."

Celebrating the tenth anniversary of the intifada, *al-Ayyam* published a special supplement, with memorial stories and opinion articles.

Two journalists visited the Jabaliya families, whose relatives were killed in the car accident which became the catalyst for the intifada. Another article told stories of mothers whose children or husbands were killed.

In a report in *al-Hayat al-Jadida*, Kamal Astal mentioned negative results of the intifada: the damage inflicted on the Palestinian education system and the deterioration of the economy.

Entitled "What is going on in our place?" *Al-Hayat al-Jadida* related in an editorial to a severe problem in the Palestinian society: revenge as a means of solving families' disputes. Hostilities and mutual bloodshed continue for years.

Demanding severe punishment for those who are involved in such actions, the paper wrote: "either the rule of law and the awe of the authorities prevail, or our nation retreats backwards while [other societies] move forward."

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Turkey attacks EU's enlargement decision

By HIDIR GOKTAS

ANKARA (Reuters) - Turkish Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz yesterday denounced an invitation to attend an EU conference next year, indicating Ankara would not attend because of the conditions set for participation.

"Turkey's attendance at the EU conference has been made dependent on the fulfillment of conditions," Yilmaz told reporters after a two-hour cabinet meeting held to discuss the outcome of the summit in Luxembourg. "This invitation does not have any importance for us. We

will not accept any conditions."

A state minister subsequently said this meant Turkey would not attend the European Conference in Britain in March. The conference will launch the group toward its biggest ever expansion.

"Turkey will not participate," State Minister Suku Sina Gurel told reporters, elaborating on Yilmaz's comments.

At its weekend summit, the EU failed to issue Turkey a formal invitation to membership talks, a source of deep disappointment to Yilmaz and his secularist political allies.

They see membership in the EU as a

guarantee of Turkey's Western vocation and a blow to their domestic Islamist critics.

Yilmaz said Turkey would continue its existing relations with the EU, but said development of the relationship depended on Europe fulfilling its obligations.

"Despite the position stated at the Luxembourg summit, Turkey will continue its will for incorporation in the EU. But for this to happen the EU must not insist on this erroneous and troublesome path," he said.

The EU called at the summit for Turkey to improve its human rights record, pro-

tect the rights of its Kurdish minority and move to solve long-standing territorial disputes with Greece, including the future of the divided island of Cyprus.

Yilmaz said Turkey would not hold talks with the EU on Cyprus and Greece after the decisions in Luxembourg.

"After this, our government will not discuss the subjects of Cyprus and our relations with Greece," he said.

The EU asked members of the European Conference - bringing together the 15 existing EU partners, 11 applicants, and Turkey - to respect the jurisdiction of the Hague-based International

Court of Justice for resolving disputes and to respect the principles of the European Union.

Traditional rival Greece welcomed the move.

"We fought hard and made our arguments understood," a senior Greek government official who asked for anonymity said. "In essence all our positions over what Turkey should do to come closer to the EU were endorsed." The Turkish press, meanwhile, said the country faced the end of its European dream, already decades in the making.

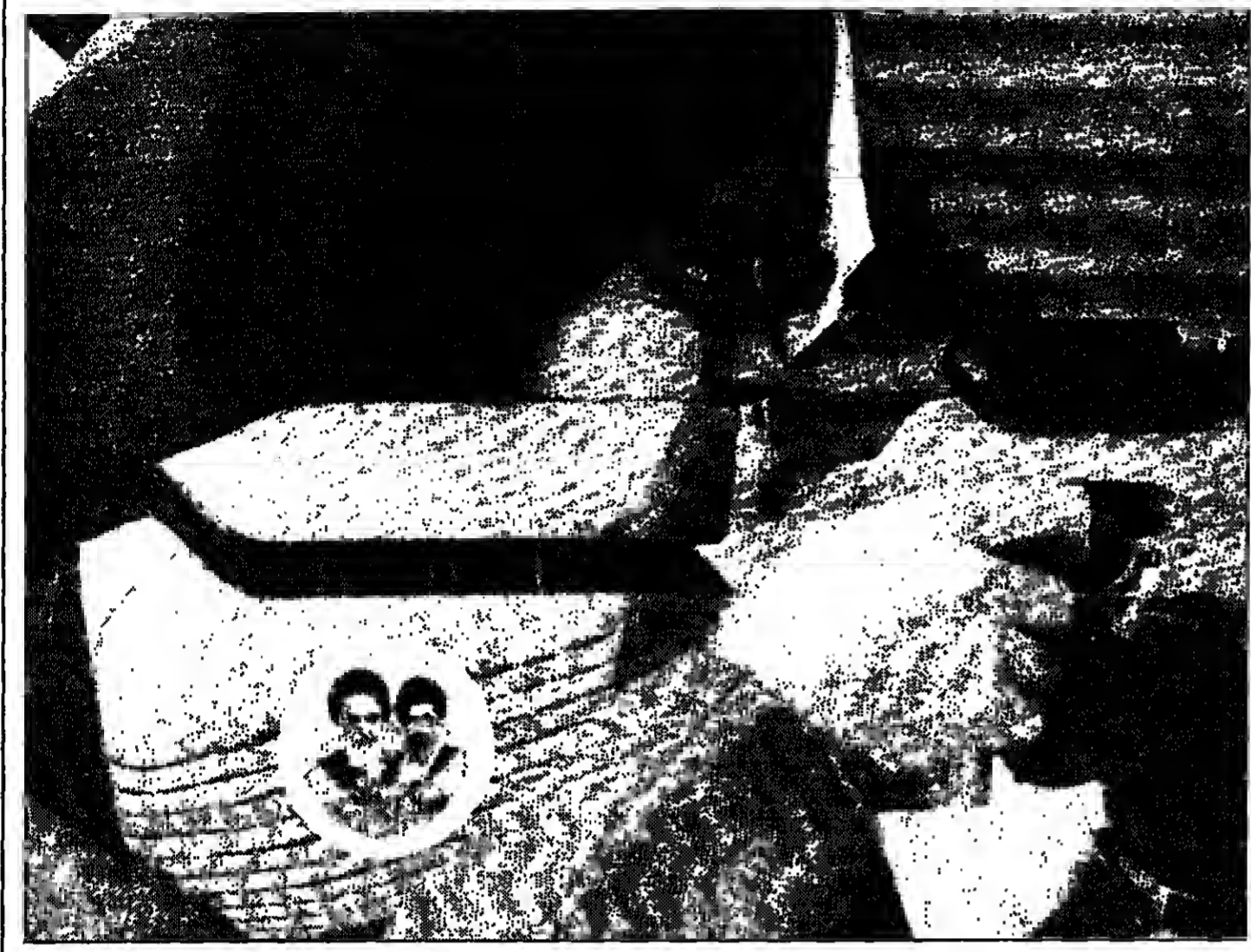
"Ankara angry at the EU," said a head-

line in *Sabah*.

The *Hurriyet* daily said Turkey told Europe it might withdraw its application for full membership, as it had not been invited to formal EU membership talks.

"We are at a point now further away than we were 10 years ago," *Hurriyet* columnist Oktay Eksi said of Turkey's membership bid. "From Turkey's point of view the situation holds no hope."

The Turkish government has told the wealthy 15-member bloc it will set its geopolitical sights in another direction if the EU does not hold out a genuine prospect of membership.



The other side of the veil

A member of the woman's Iranian shooting team practices yesterday at the Azadi sports complex in Teheran. The team is participating in the Islamic Countries Women Sports Games. The sticker on the gun shows Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, former spiritual leader and founder of the Iranian revolution (left), and Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei, current spiritual leader. (AP)

Italy mourns Fiat heir Agnelli, 33

By PHILIP PULLELLA

ROME (Reuters) - Italy yesterday mourned the death of Giovanni Alberto Agnelli, destined to become head of the Fiat industrial empire before succumbing to stomach cancer at 33.

"The shattered fairy tale" ran a headline Milan's *Corriere Della Sera*, reflecting the tragedy of a man who left behind a young bride, a three-month old daughter, and a suitcase full of personal and professional dreams.

Agnelli, who died on Saturday, was the unwilling prince charming of the dynasty Italians like to consider their Kennedys.

A spokesman said he was buried in the family tomb in a cemetery at Villar Perosa, outside Turin, while the city most associated with the Fiat fortune was still waking up.

The timing was a reflection of how Agnelli tried to shun the media spotlight perpetually trained on the nation's first family.

Agnelli was publicly announced as Fiat's heir apparent in 1995, and had been tipped to take over next year when chairman Cesare Romiti is due to step down.

But most Italians admired Agnelli for his personal values rather than his business prowess, although he was equally respected in the boardroom, the streets, and the soccer stands.

Newspapers were full of touching photos of Agnelli with his British-American wife, architect Avery Howe, whom he met while being educated in the US and married in 1996.

The shy young man with a far-away look in his eyes was being groomed to become chief of Italy's biggest private industrial empire, before the shock discovery last April that he was suffering from a rare form of stomach cancer.

One of his last happy moments came four days before his death, when he was quietly taken from the family estate in the countryside near Turin to see his beloved Juventus soccer team play Manchester United.

Juventus won a dramatic match 1-0 and qualified for the quarter-finals of the European Cup. But footage of Agnelli in the stands that night appeared to show he was in pain.

The boy manager who like to read Byron lost his nine-month battle with cancer, but kept his dignity throughout the ordeal.

"Farewell, normal guy," said Turin's *La Stampa*, which, like the Juventus soccer team, is owned by the Agnelli family.

Agnelli, known as



Giovanni Alberto Agnelli and Avery Howe leave the church after their November 1996 wedding in Montopoli, Tuscany. (AP)

"Giovannino", was president of the Piaggio motorcycle group and nephew of Fiat honorary chairman Giovanni "Gianni" Agnelli.

Despite being born into Italy's richest and most famous family, Agnelli like to call himself a pragmatist with dreams.

At 18, he worked on an assembly line in one of the Agnelli factories in industrial Turin to see how life was for workers.

"He didn't know how to do anything. He was supposed to wash pieces and prepare the work bench," Pietro Suppini, a factory worker who knew him at the time told *La Repubblica* newspaper.

But the humbling experience

served him well in later years.

"I am convinced that industry's role is to improve society. Maybe this is more important than simply churning out profits," he said.

Agnelli joined Piaggio, which had been in his mother's family, in 1987 and within seven years was chairman and chief executive of Piaggio Veicoli Europei SpA.

He turned the company around, building it into the leader in the European scooter sector and the fourth worldwide, behind Japanese giants Honda, Suzuki, and Yamaha.

If Agnelli had lived to take over the reins at Fiat, it would have put the family name back in the top

post again in time for its centenary in 1999.

Agnelli's death opens up the question of the succession to lead the huge industrial concern into the 21st century.

An indication of the respect Agnelli had gained not only in the boardroom but among workers came with comments of tribute from trades union leaders.

"The death of Giovanni Agnelli is a great loss to the nation," said Sergio D'Antoni, leader of Italy's second biggest trade union, CISL. "I believe, that even in his short life, he showed clear signs of great managerial skills. I am deeply saddened."

Yeltsin says he's back at work though still ill

By PHILIPPA FLETCHER

MOSCOW (Reuters) - Russian President Boris Yeltsin, convalescing from a viral infection in a sanatorium outside Moscow, said yesterday he is not yet fully recovered but is in full command.

"I caught a sore throat somewhere. I'm a bit weak. On the whole, I don't feel too good," Yeltsin said, speaking in a hoarse voice after casting his vote at the sanatorium in an election for the Moscow city parliament.

"The doctors say it is a normal virus... It's nothing special, it's the one going around in Moscow," he told reporters, adding that it would take about 10 days to clear up.

"I am a Moscovite so I caught it. It shows that I am in touch with Moscovites," he said with a smile.

The 66-year-old president seemed out of sorts, but moved freely around the room where a ballot box and polling booths had been set up for him and his wife.

Asked if he is working, he said aides bring him a huge pile of papers each day.

"Half a meter at least. I spend at least four hours sitting at a table, with breaks of course," he added.

"Things are all right in Russia. I am following things all the time..."

In a word, there is control. I am being kept informed, about security matters too, so don't worry."

On Saturday, doctors said Yeltsin's temperature was normal for a second day running and his blood pressure was stable.

The surgeon who conducted heart surgery on Yeltsin last November said Friday that the disease had nothing to do with the operation and that the president should be back at work full time next week.

The Kremlin had said on Saturday Yeltsin would be allowed to take a walk outside. But a spokesman was unable to confirm he would go out yesterday, when temperatures plunged to minus 20 Celsius in the snow-covered capital.

Yeltsin expressed concern over recent tragedies in Russia, including two air crashes and an explosion in a coal mine which killed dozens of people.

"Such things have not happened for a long time," he said, adding that everything is being done to help those injured and the relatives of the victims.

The Kremlin has said Yeltsin would not have any meetings with politicians this week and that several planned events had been cancelled.

These include a Wednesday meeting of a council governing a union created between Russia and Belarus this year, and a session of the committee governing a customs union with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Belarus a day later.

A meeting with Bulgarian President Petar Stoyanov planned for Friday has also been put off.

But, underlining that it is business-as-usual for the government, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin is due in Turkey for an official visit on today and tomorrow.

The last time Yeltsin voted, in the 1996 presidential election in which he won a second term, he was also at Barvikha, situated among woods and low hills west of Moscow.

Officials then explained that he was suffering merely from "a cold." It turned out that he had renewed heart problems, which eventually forced him to have a bypass operation.

The Kremlin has since pledged more openness about Yeltsin's health and has issued daily bulletins since he went into Barvikha on Wednesday with the infection, which doctors said had developed from a cold caught on a visit to Sweden a week before.

Klaus recaptures party while Czech coalition talks continue

By JAN LOPATKA

PODEBRADY, Czech Republic (Reuters) - Outgoing Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus won re-election as chairman of his Civic Democratic Party yesterday and said the vote put to rest the scandal over fund-raising that brought down his government.

But he said the Civic Democrats had not decided whether to join the new cabinet his former allies are trying to assemble in the country's finely balanced parliament.

More than five years in power make Klaus the longest-serving prime minister in post-Communist Eastern Europe. His three-party center-right coalition cabinet fell apart last month over allegations that the Civic Democrats held a secret foreign bank account and had improperly accepted donations of 7.5 million crowns (\$217,000) in 1995.

The split had looked like a mortal wound for Klaus, who denied acting improperly but was abandoned by senior party colleagues.

Instead, he won re-election at yesterday's party conference by an emphatic 227 votes to 72 for former interior minister Jan Ruml.

"I take this as an immensely serious commitment. I take this as a responsibility and I am calling for all your maximum participation and cooperation," Klaus told delegates after the vote.

He said the funding issue had been resolved by his re-election. "Congress is not an interrogation was solved here," he said.

Klaus has ruled out his own participation in what is expected to be a short-lived new administration, and had previously said the party should go into opposition ahead of anticipated early elections.

Yesterday, however, he said the party's newly-elected leadership would decide whether to join a reformed cabinet.

If they stay out, their former partners - the centrist Christian Democrats and pro-business Civic

Democratic Alliance - would try to form an interim cabinet.

Christian Democrat leader Josef Lux, who has been leading talks on forming a cabinet, told President Vaclav Havel on Friday that key political leaders, including the head of the main opposition Social Democrats, believed the new government should have only a limited mandate ahead of early elections.

The outgoing coalition controlled just 100 seats in the 200-member lower house of parliament, so the government's survival sometimes hung on a single vote.

Jiri Skalicky, chairman of the Civic Democratic Alliance, told commercial TV Nova that without Klaus's party, the new cabinet would be "hostages of the opposition."

Havel, in his weekly radio address broadcast on Sunday, said he hoped to name a government this week and by next week at the latest.

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Weekly Review

Class Wars

Clashing Over Education's One True Faith

By JACQUES STEINBERG

THE California Board of Education last week sought to settle a noisy dispute over how best to teach math to the state's 5.5 million public schoolchildren.

The board approved a set of standards for students in each grade, emphasizing memorization and basic computational skills over the ability to solve and explain analytical word problems, a method of instruction that has grown in popularity in recent years.

Traditionalists are already hailing the board's actions as a reaffirmation of age-old methods of education. Just as loudly, critics are warning that more students will lose interest when forced to learn by rote.

But somewhere above the fray of words, teachers in California are doing what they have always done: using both approaches and any number of others in between.

Which raises questions: Why do public debates on the teaching of math or reading or science seem so disconnected from what happens in the classroom? And why is there never a middle ground?

Listening to the discussion of education reform, is like walking into an ice cream parlor that says it serves only vanilla and chocolate — with no hope of swirling them together. Whatever the subject, educators and parents are presented with stark, politicized choices that are often uncomplicated

Public debates on teaching posit stark pedagogical choices. But teachers ask, 'Why choose?'

by the realities of the classroom.

A decade ago, for example, California, which has the largest public-school population in the country, was one of the first states to embrace the whole language approach to reading, which encourages students to use contextual clues like illustrations to understand sentences. Then last year, in an action that closely paralleled the recent decision on math, Gov. Pete Wilson and the Legislature encouraged districts to drop whole language, blaming it for low literacy rates, and established financial incentives for districts to emphasize old-fashioned phonics.

Teachers, however, routinely employ an eclectic approach that may include sounding out unfamiliar words (as in phonics), or covering up words and guessing what they might be from the context (whole language). "You do whatever you can," said Diane McChurken, a reading specialist in Bucks County, Pa.

Politics helps account for the "either-orism" that frames the choices in education. Liberal reformers, often speaking a 1960's language of oppression and empowerment, propose overhauls aimed at reinventing teaching. Conservatives counter with equally sweeping counterattacks in their own language of cultural decline, inveighing against experimentation and multiculturalism. Surveys showing American schoolchildren lagging behind their European and Asian counterparts introduce a perpetual air of crisis in which compromise is almost always out of the question.

But more than ideology is at work. The

debate is also fired by the long-running friction between professors of education who develop experimental curriculums and their colleagues in the arts and sciences who see them as useless fads. Today there is precious little educational research done by anyone who is not advocating a particular point of view — leaving little middle ground.

"When we go to extremes," said Ramon C. Cortines, the former New York City Schools Chancellor who is a special adviser to Secretary of Education Richard Riley, "I always ask the question: 'How does it help boys and girls learn? How does it improve what goes on in the classroom?'"

"It doesn't," he said. "The majority of the individuals advocating these positions are trying to build their own reputations." Any attempt to dictate a solution is doomed, said Nathan Tarcov, a political scientist and chairman of the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago, because it leaves a fundamental variable out of the equation. "Whatever the curriculum," he said, "ultimately it comes down to

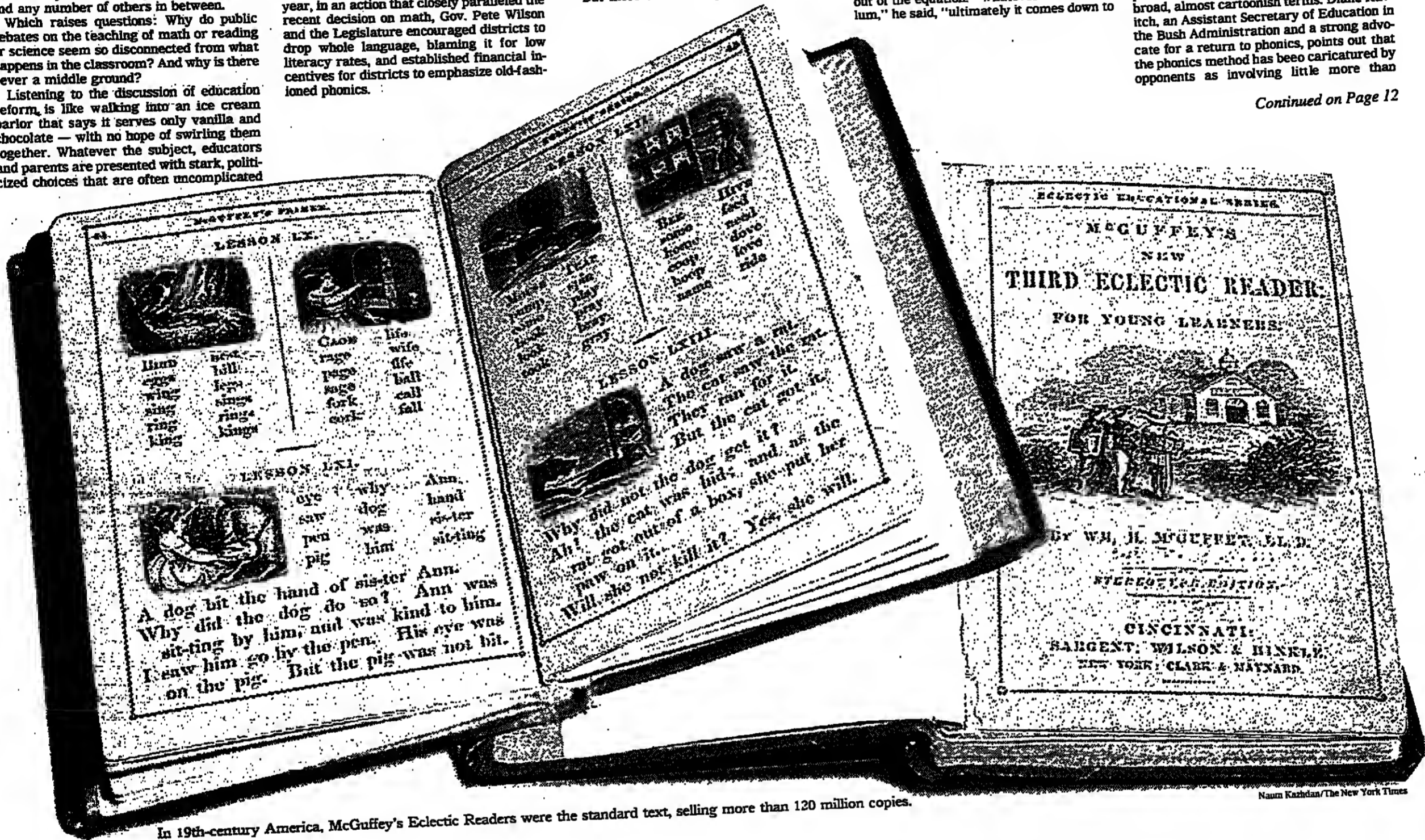


Volumes three through six of McGuffey's Reader, first published in 1836.

the teacher, especially the teacher's energy and character and sense of humor and ability to relate to young people, and not just the policies the teacher follows."

The challenges of influencing the teaching process, though, have not dissuaded school board members and policy thinkers from painting the existing options for teachers in broad, almost cartoonish terms. Diane Ravitch, an Assistant Secretary of Education in the Bush Administration and a strong advocate for a return to phonics, points out that the phonics method has been caricatured by opponents as involving little more than

Continued on Page 12



In 19th-century America, McGuffey's Eclectic Readers were the standard text, selling more than 120 million copies.

The High Brought Low

Cheating Hearts and Lying Résumés

By DAN BARRY

IN recounting his World War II experiences — being knocked overboard by a Nazi torpedo that struck a merchant marine vessel bound for Murmansk — M. Larry Lawrence would sometimes choke with emotion. But the warm embrace of his rapt audiences would soften the chill of those Arctic waters, allowing him to soldier on as the Clinton Administration's ambassador to Switzerland.

Now, almost two years after his burial in Arlington National Cemetery, we know why he struggled with such memories: They were about as true as a Hardy Boys adventure. Not satisfied to be a multimillionaire hotelier, philanthropist and Democratic fund-raiser, Mr. Lawrence added hero to his résumé — so boldly, in fact, that the routine background check preceding his appointment passed over his make-believe exploits.

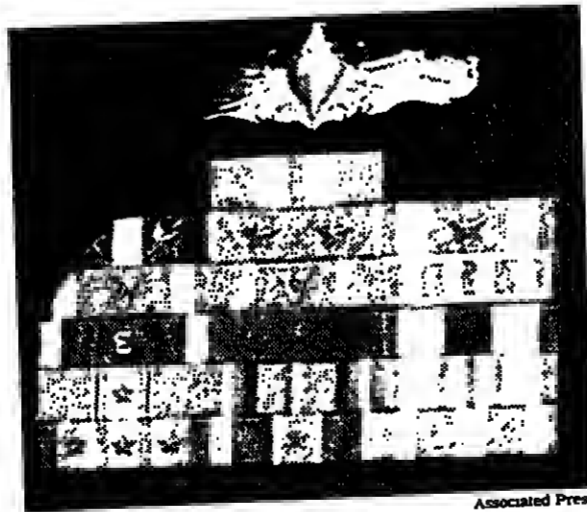
His widow, given the humbling task last week of disinterring her husband's remains from soil reserved for true heroes and heroines, might take comfort in knowing that Mr. Lawrence joins the already-crowded ranks of the particularly brazen: those people, diplomats and data-entry clerks alike, who have practiced the time-honored deception of résumé embellishment.

It is rather common, experts say, and can be surprisingly successful. But when a self-aggrandizing lie rises from the past to haunt its author, it can cut at the knees, raising again the glaring question of why so many

people, including some of considerable accomplishment, feel the need to re-create themselves as something larger than their own lives.

Remember Wes Cooley? He was the Republican Congressman from Oregon who said in a 1994 voter guide that he had served with the Army's Special Forces in Korea. Party officials pressured him to drop a 1995 re-election bid, and a few months ago he was convicted of making a false claim in an official document.

How about James Ware? A Federal district judge in California, he recently acknowledged that the inspirational story he had been telling for years — about a brother murdered in a racist shooting in Alabama in 1963 — was in fact the tragedy of another Birmingham family named Ware, and not his own. He then asked President Clinton to withdraw his name from contention for a higher judicial post. Judge Ware would only say, "I used my tenuous connection with the Wares



Adm. Jeremy Boorda's medals, a matter of dispute.

and my own feeling of loss" in telling the story.

Perhaps the most disturbing case was that of Adm. Jeremy M. Boorda, the Navy's highest-ranking officer, who committed suicide last year after learning that a news-magazine was working on an article suggesting that he wore two combat decorations he had not earned. Such a transgression may seem minor to most people, but in the military it marks a breach of trust among warriors.

Those who recreate their pasts rarely give adequate explanations for doing so, leaving the public to imagine that deep-rooted insecurities are at work. Some are doomed to repeat lies they have told early on; for others, there's an element of self-delusion, wherein a fabricated past might displace the actual, more painful one.

The phenomenon of credential embellishment has paid off for Ed Andler, the acknowledged dean of a burgeoning field known as "credential verification." Mr.

Andler, author of the forthcoming "The Complete Reference-Checking Handbook" (Amacom Books), said the reason is rooted deep in human nature: "We sort of tell people what we would like to be rather than what we are. In a job interview, the candidate is telling you pretty much what they want to be rather than what they are, and they get caught. In some cases, they forget where the truth is and where the fiction is."

Checking It Twice

Mr. Andler has checked thousands of job applicants' backgrounds for corporate clients. He and other experts have found that roughly one-third of all résumés contain some level of creative writing. Assembly-line workers are more apt to omit mention of a misdemeanor conviction; middle-management workers tend to embellish their educational backgrounds.

The dozens of verification services that have cropped up are engaging in something more than cat-and-mouse games, as employers become more concerned about workplace violence and liability for employees' actions. Chris Cavallo, vice president of Record Search Inc. in Hollywood, Fla., has a cautionary tale: "Three years ago a client was going to hire someone to be a security guard, and we found out the guy was wanted for manslaughter in another state."

The security officer was arrested at his would-be

Continued on Page 10

Seeing the Light
The nuclear clergy gets religion.

By Steven Lee Myers

2

Happy Face
Iran smiles and the world smiles with it.

By Douglas Jehl

2

I'll Huff and I'll Puff...
The wind that blew the House down.

By David E. Rosenbaum

3

Mall Money
Yes, Virginia, you can buy now and pay later.

By Timothy L. O'Brien

4

The World Nuclear Priesthood Gets a New Credo

By STEVEN LEE MYERS

BACK in the cold war, some of the greatest minds of Washington pondered how best to use nuclear weapons to destroy much of the world. With theological gravity, they dreamed up concepts like "controlled escalation" and "mutually assured destruction," a doctrine that came to be known simply as MAD.

They were called (unflatteringly) the "nuclear priesthood," the corps of strategists in and around the Pentagon and the National Security Council who actually contemplated waging nuclear war. Theirs was the arcane, euphemistic world of "single integrated operational plans." What they were really talking about was Armageddon.

Now the Clinton Administration has rewritten the nation's guidelines for using nuclear weapons. And the changes, which leaked out last week despite a cloak of secrecy, showed that the thinking about nuclear weapons — and the priesthood —

has changed as much as the world itself.

Under the new guidelines, the Pentagon has officially abandoned the cold war tenet that it must be prepared to fight, and win, a protracted, all-out nuclear war. Instead, the military will focus its strategy (not to mention its super-secret list of potential targets) on deterring attacks on the United States and its allies carried out not just by nuclear-armed nations but those with also chemical and biological ones as well.

No One Wins

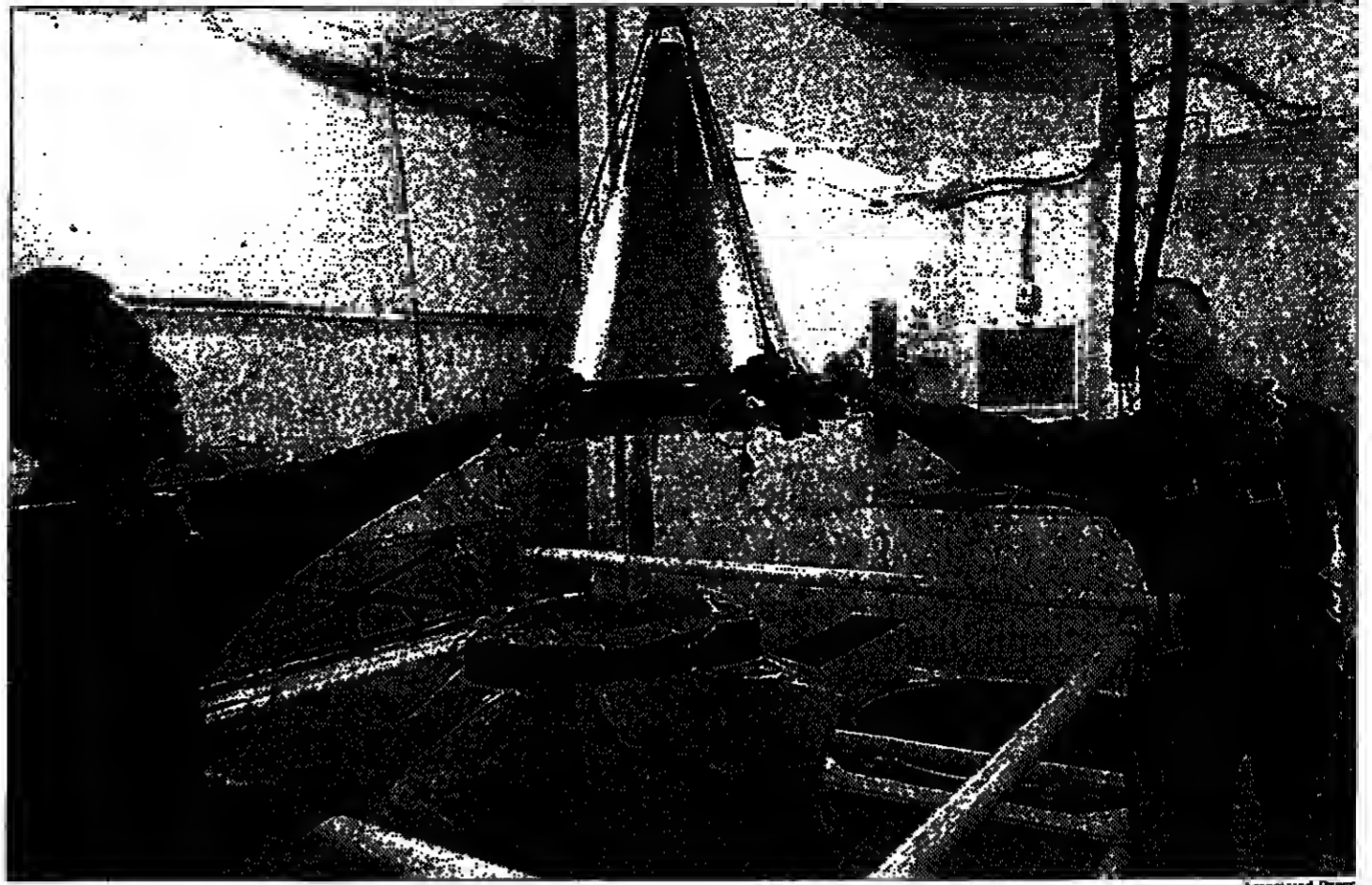
The guidelines — quietly signed by President Clinton just before Thanksgiving — do not mean the Pentagon is going to now point the nation's nuclear weapons at countries like Iraq or Libya. Instead, the guidelines will become the basis for the Pentagon's annual exercise in drawing up options for using nuclear weapons in a whole range of potential conflicts.

In rewriting the rules, Mr. Clinton's aides said they were simply adjusting to fundamental shifts in power since the collapse of the Soviet Union and subsequent sharp reductions in nuclear warheads. But they also said the changes acknowledged what many had long believed despite official doctrine: If it ever came to all-out nuclear war, no one could really win. The old priests, the Administration was saying in so many words, had gotten it wrong.

"The cold war was a period in which we had these massive nuclear stockpiles pointed at each other and we talked about protracted nuclear war and we talked about prevailing," said Gen. Eugene E. Habiger, commander of the United States Strategic Command near Omaha. "There's a more realistic approach now."

But if the new guidelines jettisoned Alice in Wonderland scenarios for fighting on, even as every American and Russian city vanished in radioactive clouds of dust, they have also raised a host of new questions that are as mind-twisting as the old ones:

Is it possible to have deterrence with a smaller nuclear force in a far less orderly world? If the threat of nuclear annihilation kept the Soviets from starting World War III, will it stop today's rogue regimes from launching a terrorist strike?



The world's changed; so has American nuclear strategy: Airmen attach a warhead to a Minuteman III missile in a Nebraska silo.

"If there's an irrational actor," said Franklin C. Miller, principal deputy to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy and Threat Reduction, "you may not be able to deter the irrational actor."

From the beginning, the nuclear priesthood has always been an arcane, mysterious calling.

In the Pentagon and in think tanks like the Rand Corporation, men like Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, Robert S. McNamara, Paul H. Nitze and Herman Kahn wrestled not only with questions of war and peace but also with details of technology. The debate was so ponderous and detailed that it was considered beyond the minds of ordinary people.

The end of the cold war has radically changed it. Deterrence of the Evil Empire has evolved into deterring some unforeseen enemy. Instead of abstractions about the end of the world, the focus today is on arms control, "de-targeting" missiles (even though they can be quickly re-targeted) and other efforts to build trust among former enemies.

Robert G. Bell, the President's senior director for defense policy and arms control at the National Security Council, said that by the end of the cold war, nuclear strategy had entered "the realm of the hypothetical." Since then, the need for deterrence from an

immediate threat has evolved into a more general hedge against instability. And that has changed the nature of the priesthood, a term that he, like others involved in nuclear strategy, abhors.

General Habiger — the modern-day successor to the nation's first strategic commander, the flamboyant, cigar-chewing, doomsday-talking Gen. Curtis E. LeMay — today devotes much of his time to exchanging visits with his Russian counterparts, in an effort to safeguard what's left of the Soviet nuclear arsenal. And while steel-nerved specialists still work round the clock in an underground command center beneath General Habiger's headquarters at Offutt Air Force Base, ever ready to launch a nuclear strike if ordered, the atmosphere is more evocative of corporate insurance than "Dr. Strangelove."

'More Realistic'

Mr. Bell said the point of rewriting the guidelines, which replace those put in place by President Reagan in 1981, was not to forswear the use of nuclear weapons but to make the doctrine "more understandable and more realistic — to the extent that anything in this area can be realistic."

While the guidelines shift the focus more to potential enemies with chemical or biological weapons, Mr. Miller said the core strategy remained the same: to dissuade an enemy from attacking by putting at risk whatever that enemy holds dear.

"Whether it was a Soviet leader or is today a rogue state, you have to spend a lot of time understanding what makes these people tick," Mr. Miller said. "What is it that they value most highly? And then you have to say, 'This is what we're going to do to you if you cross a particular line.'"

The new guidelines, not unexpectedly, have already drawn criticism. Advocates for arms control said the nuclear powers still had too many warheads that could be too easily launched — either by accident or malevolent design. The critics say the new guidelines show that the nuclear priesthood is simply searching for a new raison d'être.

Michael Krepon, president of the Henry L. Stimson Center, a research institute in Washington, said that despite the guidelines, nuclear strategists have not caught up to changing reality.

"I look at the nuclear priesthood as islands," he said. "The water temperature around these islands is changing, and the islands are becoming more isolated."



Nuclear-prepared in Wyoming.

Persian Gulf

Iran's Venture in Image Rehab

By DOUGLAS JEHL

IT was a kind of coming-out party, with all eyes focused on Iran as it stepped forward after nearly two decades mostly shrouded from world view. What guests glimpsed at an international Islamic conference here was in some ways infuriatingly contradictory: a poised, gracious Iran eager to leave a good impression, but one also still burning with old resentments.

But then, ever since its rebirth in the 1979 revolution, Iran has been a far more complex creature than the one depicted in Western snapshots of fiery mullahs, subservient women and legions of martyrs. And if the gathering in Teheran last week was hardly an acknowledgment that the old view had been altogether mistaken, the huge turnout suggested a willingness to entertain the hope that Iran's coming of age may bring with it more maturity. Those looking for moderation could find evidence, or not.

There was the inaugural address by Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, heir to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini as the steward of revolution, with the usual trade against Western influence. But then came more conciliatory remarks by the new President, Mohammed Khatami, who calls for opening Iran to the outside world have given voice to a very different dimension of Iranian political thought. And while reiterating its opposition to the United States' policies toward Israel and military role in the Persian Gulf, Iran did not push those views on others, acting more statesmanlike than revolutionary.

The Dissident

Washington, of course, was not invited; had it been, it would have stayed away. Alone in the world, the United States remains intent on isolating Iran, regularly denouncing the clerical regime in terms that probably rank it second in Iraq in American demonology. But some of the symbolism on display in Teheran seemed to underscore a spreading view that Iran is not only too important to ignore, but is also perhaps a country with which others can do business.

From Saudi Arabia, which has shunned Iran as a most undesirable neighbor; a drapery from the door of the Holy Kaaba of Mecca — a remarkable gift from the capital of Sunni Muslim orthodoxy to the rival Shiite Muslim regime that remains the world's only Islamic republic.

President Suleyman Demirel of Turkey, another ally of the West, exchanged embraces with Iranian clerics who regularly criticized his government for its secular orientation and its military ties with Israel. Even Foreign Minister Amr Moussa of Egypt — on his visit to a city that has a street named after the militant Muslim Egyptian who assassinated President Anwar el-Sadat — said the gathering had produced "some kind of improvement in ties" between his country and Iran.



Conflict of interests: Saudi delegates at the Islamic conference, with a portrait of Ayatollah Khomeini.



A boy and his toy, a helicopter that was on display in a public park in central Teheran last week.

Iran, for its part, has silenced its calls for an export of the Islamic revolution that toppled the Shah and sent shock waves across the Middle East. Mr. Khatami's stunning victory last May over a candidate supported by the religious establishment showed how far democracy has come. And while Ayatollah Khomeini is still the supreme leader in what remains a mullahcracy, the support that 69 percent of Iranians gave to Mr. Khatami shows the urbane face of those who never felt a kinship with the radical clerics.

"For the first time, we can see Iran as not just black or white, but as complex and more refined," a diplomat here said. "I'm not saying they are angels, but this is not a one-man dictatorship, like Saddam's in Iraq."

One question still difficult if not impossible to answer is whether overtures like those on display last week encourage moderation or

coddle the worst elements in Iran. American views have veered from one extreme to the other, with little success on either end of the spectrum. The effort to reach out to Iran reached its most absurd and embarrassing proportion with the secret arrival in 1986 of the Bible and cake-bearing mission led by Robert McFarlane, President Reagan's national security adviser, to which Iranian officials turned their backs. Since then, Washington's pattern has been to turn its own back on Iran until it forswears, for one thing, its support for violent opponents of a broader Middle East peace.

Iran, in turn, has said the economic sanctions imposed by the United States leave no grounds for any overture at all. But among its neighbors, Iran has begun to extend olive branches. It has played a restrained role in trying to mediate conflicts in countries like

Afghanistan and Tajikistan, while working hard to promote warmer relations with American allies like Saudi Arabia and Egypt, which until recently had followed the United States in regarding Iran as something akin to the devil incarnate.

It was the dividends of those efforts that were evident here last week as Iran took the reins for the next three years of the 55-member Organization of the Islamic Conference. Not only was the international gathering the largest to be held in Teheran since the revolution, but it far eclipsed in size and prominence an American-sponsored gathering in Qatar less than a month earlier, which was marred by an Arab boycott in protest of Israel's participation.

Still Skeptical

Misgivings within the Sunni-dominated Islamic world of Iran's Shiite regime still run so deep that few if any of those who attended were doing so to demonstrate wholehearted support for Iran's domestic and internal policies. Many were motivated first by obligations to an Islamic organization they hope can wield increasing weight, and perhaps second by a curiosity about Mr. Khatami, a man who had been unknown to many of them. Tiny oil-rich monarchies like Kuwait and Bahrain that have embraced American military protection remained skeptical of their giant neighbor's claims that it has no hostile intentions. "There are a lot of lookers but no buyers," a European diplomat said.

But in taking a fresh look at Iran, with its 60 million people, vast territory and considerable resources, the guests saw an Iran that, at least on the surface, had taken great pains to present a post-revolutionary face.

In the lobby of the former Intercontinental hotel, which was nationalized after the revolution, a mosaic that read "Down With the U.S.A." was removed, after 18 years, during a pre-conference renovation. In its place, computers offered direct, high-speed links to the World Wide Web. In guest rooms, televisions offered satellite programming, still officially against the law in the rest of Teheran. And while Ayatollah Khomeini's speech featured a fierce condemnation of Western civilization and what he called its gluttony, carnality and greed, Mr. Khatami, by contrast, quickly pronounced himself in favor of "the establishment of dialogues" to achieve "deep-rooted understanding of the cultural and moral dimensions of other societies."

That was enough for the State Department to declare that the United States, too, would "welcome and support the idea of an open dialogue between different cultures and civilizations." But in Teheran, many foreign residents and visitors said they believed that both sides could benefit by being less oblique.

"It is an open question whether these hints of moderation are tactical or strategic," a European diplomat said. "But it is incumbent on everyone, including the United States, to watch closely and listen."

Cheating Hearts

Continued From Page 9

place of employment. But for every close call of today, there are dozens of what-ifs from yesterday. If, for example, The Washington Post had known that Janet Cooke was lying about her Vassar College credentials, the editors wouldn't have hired her, let alone published her cooched-about Pulitzer Prize-winning story about a child heroin addict that now stands as one of the most damaging frauds in American journalism.

The publishers of Marquis "Who's Who in America" learned long ago of the pitfalls in believing every accomplishment in the 100,000 entries it prints annually. The editors seek to verify only the most outlandish claims; for the rest, the book contains an appeal to readers to report errors or apparent fabrications.

Paul Canning, senior managing director, explained the how of "Who's Who": "If at some point it comes to our attention that we published false information, then we either remove the false information or make the determination to remove the biography entirely, because they've created a breach of trust with us. It happens a number of times a year, but it doesn't happen daily."

The State Department would certainly agree, and is reviewing its background procedures after failing to catch the fairly clear discrepancy in Mr. Lawrence's life story.

Although the public may scorn, even pity the multimillionaire ambassador, it tends to celebrate those con artists and film-flammers whose deceits bring no harm, whose lies dishonor no war dead. Few begrudged a small-time pool hustler called New York Fats the chance to cash in on a popular movie by rechristening himself Minnesota Fats. Fewer still reviled Ferdinand Waldo DeMara Jr., the overweight, unassuming man who inspired a 1960 movie called "The Great Impostor."

Mr. DeMara, who died in 1982 at the age of 60, borrowed other people's names and credentials to experience life at its fullest. He actually got jobs as an assistant warden at a Texas prison, a dean of philosophy at a Pennsylvania college, a teacher in a Maine village. Perhaps his most daring exploit came during the Korean War, when he posed for several months as a surgeon on a Canadian destroyer, suturing wounds and performing minor operations.

In the end, the difference between that impostor and the ambassador is sweetly ironic: only the impostor's memories of wartime service aboard a ship were true.

صكدا من الاصلي

The Nation



Doing the two-step: Clinton and Gore at a Rose Garden press conference this fall.

Clinton Can Now Sing, 'Me and My Shadow President'

By RICHARD L. BERKE

VICE PRESIDENT AL GORE swept into the international talks on global warming here last week and, with a bit of drama, added a passage to his speech that was not in the prepared text. He told the delegates from about 160 nations that after conferring with President Clinton by telephone, he was instructing the American delegation "to show increased negotiating flexibility."

The oratory was hardly soaring — Mr. Gore's usually isn't — but with those words, the Vice President helped break an impasse in the talks. And although he invoked the President's name, Mr. Gore later made it clear that adding the critical passage was his idea.

"It was primarily influenced by my assessment of the state of play here," he said. "I then consulted with President Clinton back in the White House and added the paragraph that you're referring to."

In other words, it was pretty much Al Gore calling the shots — another confirmation that the early portrayals of Hillary Rodham Clinton as a "co-President" are no longer accurate. Mr. Gore comes closer to filling that role, and now his portfolio is expanding.

With Mr. Clinton now running for nothing but his place in history, and wearying of some of the starkly political duties he once enjoyed, he is increasingly turning to Mr. Gore, the man who could help insure the Clinton legacy, as his stand-in. Never one for the funereal fare of past Vice Presidents, Mr. Gore is taking on big roles with gusto as he carefully, but surely, steps forth as a contender for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 2000.

On the Team

"It seems weekly there are illustrations of the Vice President taking on greater roles, more visible projects that clearly enhance his position," said Senator Thomas A. Daschle of South Dakota, the Democratic leader. "They put him in a strong position to be perceived as their apparent."

Indeed, Mr. Gore's high-profile assignments — from debating Ross Perot on free trade early in the Clinton Administration, to landmark telecommunications legislation in 1996, to meetings with leaders in Moscow and Beijing just this year — have given Americans ample opportunity to grow accustomed to him as an engaged leader, one perhaps even worthy of their trust and future votes. "He bought into the team —

he's part of it now," said Roy Neel, a longtime aide and confidant to Mr. Clinton. "He's not going to walk away from it."

Which, of course, could be a problem for Mr. Gore. There are perils to being inextricably tethered to a President as shaken by controversy as Mr. Clinton.

Consider the inquiries into the Administration's fund-raising practices that knocked Mr. Gore's carefully planned political agenda off stride this year. Though he has perhaps regained momentum after Attorney General Janet Reno's refusal to seek an independent inquiry into his fund-raising calls, the Vice President's vulnerability is clear. It has often seemed as if Mr. Gore — and not the President — was the favored target of Republicans. Why bag a lame duck when you can weaken the guy who wants his job?

Mr. Gore again could have been a target here in Kyoto, particularly since he was the highest-ranking leader to attend — if only for a day — and because his credentials on environmental issues are such that Mr. Clinton takes his cues on global warming

The Clinton and Gore staffs are integrated, and poised for 2000.

from Mr. Gore. In the sort of balancing act that will occupy him for the next three years, the Vice President sought to satisfy environmentalists who are the heart of Democratic Party's traditional liberal base as well as the more moderate business interests who helped elect Mr. Clinton in the first place.

In this case, the balancing act may have worked. While the global-warming accord reached here won the unqualified praise of few — and it faces a daunting battle for ratification in the Senate — Mr. Gore was widely credited by participants for at least helping to keep the negotiations alive.

It was the kind of performance that Mr. Gore's loyalists say should help convince people that he deserves the top job.

"For the first time in history we have a Vice President who can step into the role of President literally on a moment's notice without missing a beat," Mr. Neel said, "and with the world understanding it would be a seamless handoff."

Mr. Gore's role grows out of the working relationship, and genuine friendship, that

has developed between him and the President since the two baby-boom Southerners formed their ticket in the 1992 Presidential campaign. They have weekly private lunches, and their rapport carries over into a high degree of integration between their staffs.

White House Boosters

In fact, there is something of a shadow Gore Administration in place already: many of Mr. Clinton's senior aides first worked for Mr. Gore, and have a stake in seeing the Vice President win the office himself in 2000. And in the Cabinet, Andrew Cuomo, the Housing Secretary, and William Daley, the Transportation Secretary, are particularly close to the Vice President. (When he departed Kyoto, Mr. Gore left behind a protégé and important player in the talks, Katie McGinty, chairwoman of the Council on Environmental Quality.)

The White House's drive to help Mr. Gore is intensifying, as was evident after a recent speech by Representative Richard A. Gephardt, the House minority leader, who is angling to run for the Democratic nomination in 2000.

Speaking at Harvard University, Mr. Gephardt offered a sharp critique of the Clinton-Gore agenda, though he did not mention either the President or Vice President by name. The response was swift: Rahm Emanuel, a senior White House aide, publicly castigated Mr. Gephardt for his "flip-flops on multiple issues." It was a surprising break from the tradition of White House officials staying neutral in nomination battles within their own party.

Knowing One's Place

As he has assumed more Presidential roles, Mr. Gore has taken care not to behave too much like a President. His success thus far has come because he has been careful not to upstage Mr. Clinton.

"Al Gore has all the qualities of being a very strong leader," said Richard W. Riley, the Secretary of Education. "But he's the Vice President. He's not trying to be the President as Vice President. That's why they get along so well together."

And as much as Mr. Clinton wants a President Al Gore to complete his legacy, the current President also wants it known that he has not finished burnishing it himself.

Insisting he was as engaged as ever, Mr. Clinton said in a recent interview in the Oval Office that "there will be a lot going on next year."

"And there will be a lot going on in '99," he added. "And a lot going on in 2000."

Talking to Congress

The Witness Is Shocked and Appalled

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

EXPLAINING last week to the House committee investigating campaign finance matters why she had decided not to ask for the appointment of a special prosecutor, Attorney General Janet Reno declared: "My only guiding star is my desire to follow every lead, to find the truth and to apply the law the right way. I don't care where the facts lead, because I'm going to follow them as far as and wherever they go."

On paper, such sentiments may seem platitudinous. In the hearing room, they sounded so schmaltzy that some reporters snickered and several Congressmen sighed in exasperation.

On Screen

But in Congressional hearings, the reality that counts is on television. With the tight shot showing Ms. Reno's eyes steely and her jaw clenched, her words sounded heartfelt, even profound. On television, she appeared to be defending her honor against browbeating inquisitors.

Ms. Reno had proved again her mastery of the technique of taking such a moral high ground under interrogation that questions can be ducked with impunity and the questioners made to look like bullies.

This approach, which others appearing before Congressional committees are increasingly adopting, serves more than its short-term purpose of allowing witnesses to avoid answering embarrassing questions. In the longer term, it bolsters the public's unfavorable view of Congress.

The latest New York Times/CBS News poll, in which more than 1,000 adults were questioned by telephone last weekend, found that only one-third approved of the way Congress is handling its job. More than half said that the Congressional campaign finance investigations were primarily a partisan attempt by President Clinton's political opponents to wound him.

There are many reasons why the public holds these views. And the failure of the Congressional inquiries this year to shed much new light on campaign finance matters had several causes — among them, the refusal of key witnesses to appear, the maleable nature of the campaign laws and the tendency of senators and representatives to make political speeches rather than ask questions.

How to make an interrogating Congressman look like a pompous jerk.

But one reason, no doubt, that Congress is held in such low regard and that recent Congressional investigations have been less than smashing successes is that at televised Congressional hearings — one of the few opportunities the public has to see Congress in action — witnesses have proved so adept at offering platitudes that undercut the lawmakers' standing.

Posing a perfectly reasonable question last week, for example, Representative Dan Burton of Indiana, the Republican chairman who was conducting the hearing, asked Ms. Reno from whom she had sought advice on the special prosecutor matter.

Ms. Reno replied as if Mr. Burton were threatening the process of justice and as if identifying her advisers were tantamount to

divulging their confidential advice. "I am not going to discuss who advised me," she said. "I think it is important that they be able to talk freely and openly with me because the decision is mine."

The more aggressive the questions became, the worse Ms. Reno made the interrogators look. For instance, Representative John L. Mica, Republican of Florida, suggested that the Attorney General could be held in contempt of Congress for refusing to give Congress any portions of a memorandum from Louis J. Freeh, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, that had advocated a special prosecutor.

Without directly addressing the question of memorandum, Ms. Reno responded: "Well, I just think it would be very, very wrong for Congress to become part of a prosecution and an investigation. It would politicize investigations. It would politicize the prosecution process. I think that's wrong."

Mr. Freeh spoke in the same vein. Asked

A technique dating at least to Lillian Hellman is now more polished than ever.

whether the Justice Department had interfered with his investigation, he asserted: "I call the shots as I see them. My job is not to please anyone in this town at the expense of what I see as my duty."

Of course, Ms. Reno and Mr. Freeh are not the first witnesses at a Congressional investigation to find firm footing by delivering lines that could have been taken directly from the script of a melodrama.

A Tear in His Eye

A decade ago, Lieut. Col. Oliver L. North won a national following for telling the committees investigating the Iran-contra affair, "I came here to tell you the truth — the good, the bad and the ugly." He had broken the law and arranged for money and arms to go to the right-wing rebels in Nicaragua. Colonel North said, a tear in his eye and a catch in his voice, because he had been "the only person left" who could help them.

Going back 45 years, Lillian Hellman, the playwright, gained more national acclaim than she had ever earned from her plays for refusing to cooperate with the communist-hunting inquiry of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and declaring, "I cannot and will not cut my conscience to fit this year's fashions."

But lawyers who often represent witnesses before Congressional committees say that the technique is much more prevalent now than it used to be. One such lawyer, who insisted on not being identified, said he had his clients rehearse lines that would make them appear aggrieved and the questioners bombastic.

"I tell them to keep in mind that they are addressing the television audience, not the senators," the lawyer said. "If some senator wants to lecture them, I say all the better. It makes the senator look pompous, it makes my client look put-upon and it uses up all the time for questions."

Some politicians are aware of what is going on, but they are not sure what to do about it.

"People are used to getting their politics on Hollywood screens," said Senator Robert F. Bennett of Utah, a Republican member of the Senate committee that investigated campaign finance. "Then they see someone like Reno, and it sounds real to them."



Attorney General Janet Reno, under questioning on Capitol Hill Tuesday.

The Nation

Giving Credit Where Debt Is Due

By TIMOTHY L. O'BRIEN

AS Frank Capra's mid-century holiday movie classic, "It's a Wonderful Life," crowds its way onto television screens, feel free to snicker at the moment when a desperate George Bailey screams at his negligent uncle for misplacing bank funds and threatening to plunge the family into debt. "Where's that money?" he shouts. "Do you realize what this means? It means bankruptcy and scandal and prison!"

Scandal? Prison? How quaint. America, safe haven of the highly leveraged country and the highly leveraged corporation, is now home to the highly leveraged citizen. Debt is very, very cool.

Sub-Prime

Right now, consumers are firmly into debt overdrive as they pursue the annual rite of the holiday spending binge. Americans have even bestowed an affectionate new term on their credit cards: "mall money." That mall money is liberating, too. A recent survey of 1,000 consumers by the American Bankers Association found that two-thirds had no holiday spending plan, even though they typically end up taking about six months to pay off holiday debt. And these are not poor people. The same survey found that among those who were late with credit card payments, 44 percent earned more than \$50,000 a year, while only 4 percent earned less than \$15,000.

American consumers are carrying about \$1.2 trillion in installment credit, up about 50 percent from just four years ago, and the average credit card holder has four cards and about \$4,000 in high-interest debt. Nonetheless, lenders have begun to target the least creditworthy and most unsophisticated debtors-to-be, dubbing them "sub-prime" borrowers. Loan delinquencies are on the rise and personal bankruptcies continue to soar.

But hey, why worry? Even bankruptcy doesn't stop the solicitations from lenders.

Banks, which once upon a time emphasized savings and thrift, are now relentless marketers of debt — or credit, to use the sanitized term favored by lenders. Billions of credit card solicitations compete for space in

American mailboxes each year, with Banc One, MBNA, Citicorp, and Chase Manhattan jointly accounting for more than half of the volume.

Mortgages can be had for 125 percent of a house's market value, quite a repudiation of banks' traditional hesitation to lend no more than 80 percent against a home. Since late October, Fleet Financial Group has mailed more than one million blank checks in denominations ranging from \$3,000 to \$10,000, inviting borrowers to use the checks to pay taxes or "spruce up your home."

"What debt is doing is that it anesthetizes the purchasing process," said Stephen M. Pollan, a financial adviser and author of a new book, "Die Broke" (Harper Business). "Debt may be O.K. for a house or a car or an education, but for anything else you're an idiot. For a bottle of champagne or a new wardrobe you're going to go into debt? It's just instant gratification, a short-lived burst of fun, and it's not smart."

Debt is not the stigma it was for the generation that came of age during the Great Depression and World War II. So when did things change?

Cultural milestones are never easy to mark, but when it comes to consumer debt, Fresno, Calif., in September 1958 offers a likely one. Bank of America targeted Fresno for the first mass mailing of credit cards, as detailed by Joseph Nocera in "A Piece of the Action: How the Middle Class Joined the Money Class" (Simon & Schuster, 1994). Some 60,000 credit cards flooded the mailboxes of Fresno. A little more than a year later, two million credit cards were circulating around California.

"There had been no outward yearning among the residents of Fresno for such a device, nor even the dimmest awareness that such a thing was in the works," Mr. Nocera wrote. "Here began the trickle of what we now call financial products, aimed largely at the middle class, that would become, by the 1980's, an avalanche."

Still, in the 1960's most borrowers paid off their

credit card balances monthly, as an aversion to financial risk born in the Depression held sway. It would take another decade and the arrival of runaway inflation to bring consumer debt into the mainstream.

"Credit cards were the enablers but inflation was the trigger," Mr. Nocera said in an interview. "People in the late 1970's started recognizing that it made sense to go into debt because of inflation."

America's trouble with debt is nothing new. After all, Georgia was founded as a debtors' colony, and Thomas Jefferson died a debtor after a lifetime of buying things that would have made Imelda Marcos blush.

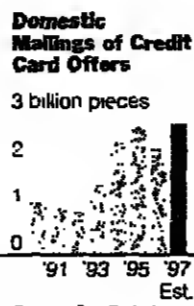
But for many years it was only an elite few like Jefferson who could take on inordinate debt as consumers. Farmers and other debtors largely borrowed in order to produce something. Puritans and Quakers regarded excessive personal debt as a sin, views that were widely and firmly held until relatively recently. In the 1800's, the end of the year did not entail holiday shopping sprees but was a time to pay off debts to begin the new year with a clean slate and a clean conscience.

"Debt was a horror in the 19th century," said Robert Sobel, a financial historian at Hofstra University. "Mortgages were much shorter in the 19th century, only about 10 years. Burning the mortgage was a big family event. Nowadays, people don't even think of mortgages as debt."

Of course, there weren't VCR's, Timberlands or Gap jeans to covet in the 19th and early 20th centuries. But once the emotional shock of the Depression subsided and the post-World War II consumer boom occurred, Americans were primed to take a new look at debt. All they needed were credit cards and a nudge from those burgeoning inflation rates.

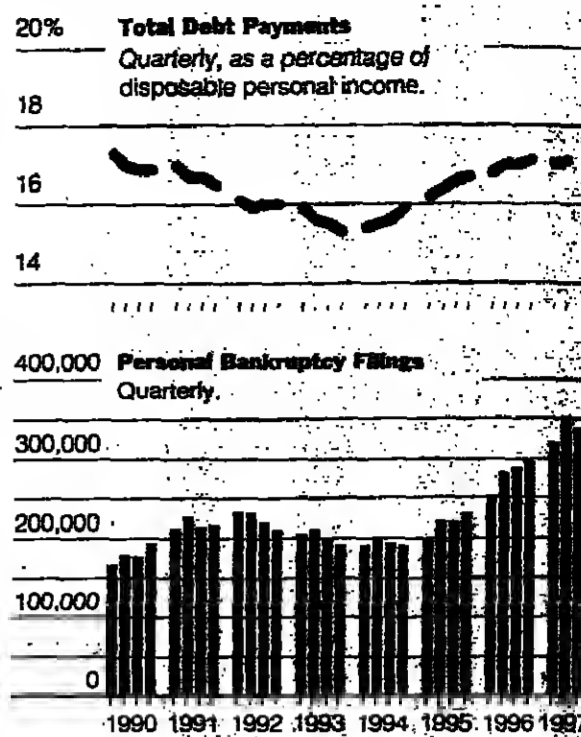
Treading Water

Now the costs are adding up. The consumer debt spigot has been wide open for the past five years and some borrowers are beginning to tread water, despite the robust economy. Several credit card companies, including such rapidly growing issuers as Advanta, have taken a financial beating after coaxing risky borrowers with low introductory teaser rates. Charge-offs for bad credit card debt have risen sharply this year at Advanta and



Lending Spree

As the stock market sets new highs, and inflation becomes a foggy memory, Americans are taking on more debt. But more are faltering under the burden.



other big credit card issuers. And if the economy slows significantly, America's penchant for debt may take an even uglier turn.

"People think about money in a certain way until a cataclysm arrives that forces them to change," said Mr. Nocera, who added that it will probably take a sharp downturn in the economy before people think it wise to lighten their debt loads.

If this makes you queasy, just turn off "It's a Wonderful Life" and tune in the Lifetime cable channel. There, every weeknight, you'll find a game show called "Debt," which gives contestants the opportunity to win enough money to rid themselves of personal debt — uh, credit.

Battling Over Education's True Faith

Continued From Page 9

"drill sheets and making funny sounds." Students in phonics classes now learn the sounds that letters make using children's literature, she said, just as they might in a whole language class. Phonics' newest incarnation represents "a middle ground," she said.

But ask Dr. Ravitch if whole language, to which she is fiercely opposed, has also been caricatured, and she says, "The caricature of whole language is, I think, closer to the reality, that kids are supposed to guess the words in context rather than sound them out."

Which is not entirely accurate, says Kenneth Goodman, a professor in the department of language, reading and culture at the University of Arizona at Tucson and one of the pioneers of the whole language movement. "My view is that you cannot read an alphabetic language without using and learning phonics," Dr. Goodman said.

But why has that part of whole language been lost in the larger discussion? "Whole language has been demonized because you have to have good guys and bad guys," he said. "You have to have one right program."

Academia has been loath to resolve such clashes, says Jerome T. Murphy, the dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, because academics in education schools and those in math and science often view each other with distrust. "You get stereotypes," he said. "The scientists have their heads in the clouds and don't care about kids." That's a fallacy. But the other stereotype, that "all teacher educators are interested in is process," is false, too. "The contributions of both are essential to writing a good curriculum, he said.

Combining the Possible

In seeking to draft standards in science for the California board's consideration, an independent commission turned down an offer of free assistance from three Nobel laureates in science and voted to award a contract to a group of science teachers, education professors and working scientists affiliated with the California State College at San Bernardino. Faced with a backlash, the commission voted to rescind the award and revisit its decision.

The attempt to establish math standards has been no less contentious. In August, the standards commission approved a document recommending an eclectic approach to teaching math in kindergarten through the 12th grade. For traditionalists, there was an emphasis on basic skills and many mathematical concepts to be mastered. For reformers, there was a premium on students explaining how they arrived at their answers and dozens of word problems relating math to life outside the classroom.

But last Thursday, the 17-member Board of Education, which is appointed by Governor Wilson, a conservative Republican, rewrote the draft, dropping all the word problems. The board also decided against recommendations to integrate advanced mathematics throughout the middle and high school grades, outlining a traditional course of two years of algebra, a year of geometry and a year of trigonometry.

In a nod to the reformers, though, the board wrote that it was not endorsing a particular approach and that "many other combinations of these advanced subjects into courses are possible."

For teachers like Ana England, a sixth-grade math teacher in Watsonville, Calif., little is expected to change. Ms. England says she already teaches fundamental tasks like calculating the surface area and volume of a three-dimensional figure. But she does it nontraditionally, breaking her class into teams to solve word problems and explain the answers to each other.

"I've looked at the standards," Ms. England said, "and the things the board has crossed out are words like 'analyze' and 'explain your thinking.' But there's nothing in the standards that says you can't teach that. A good teacher is going to do that, in addition to teaching basic skills."

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ECONOMY

She's Wound Up in Her Career; He's Ready to Wind Down

By LOUIS UCHITELLE

AFTER a career as a salesman, Ruth Cambron's husband retired, and she thought she might, too. She took a leave from her job as a health care specialist in California, and the couple traveled on cruise ships. "That convinced me not to retire," Mrs. Cambron said. "I did not want to feel useless." She also wanted to build her pension. And 12 years later, at 73, she still draws a paycheck — a stalwart in the growing ranks of older women who continue to work after their husbands stop.

parking facility at Buffalo's airport. "Besides, what would I do all day at home?" she asked. "He plays with the dog, builds model planes and visits our children. I think that if two people are home together constantly, they could end up killing each other." Having distinguished themselves as the first generation to leave the house to work in large numbers, women in their late 50's and early 60's are now in retirement range. If they are single, divorced or widowed, they often keep working, surveys show, because they lack the Social Security credits or pension savings of men their age, who earned more and worked more years. But in growing numbers, married women in this age group are also staying on the job — breaking with the practice of sharing their husbands' retirement.

the labor force before he had planned to retire. And there is what Mathew Greenwald, a market researcher who polls people on retirement issues, calls the sociability aspect. "Building friendships on the job is often more important to women than it is to men," he said. "Women may want to go on working to maintain these friendships. They find the idea of being retired more isolating than men do." Whatever the reasons, women's persistence in working could have broad implications for the economy. It could, for example, relieve some of the financial pressure on the Social Security system, which will be stretched thin when the baby boomers retire.

The Rewards of Working a Little Longer

A few extra years of work can substantially increase a woman's monthly Social Security benefits. For example, a woman who started working in 1981 at age 45 and is earning \$30,000 annually at the time she retires could double her benefit by working to age 70.

As more women keep working longer, a growing percentage, as shown below, will collect higher Social Security benefits from their own account than by relying on spousal benefits from their husband's account.

Table with 2 columns: RETIREMENT YEAR GENERATION and Percentage. Rows include 1995 EARLY DEPRESSION (33%), 2000 LATE DEPRESSION (44%), 2005 WORLD WAR II (48%), 2010 EARLY BABY BOOM (54%), 2015 LATE BABY BOOM (59%).

If she retires at 62 in January 1998, her benefit would be ...

\$535 a month

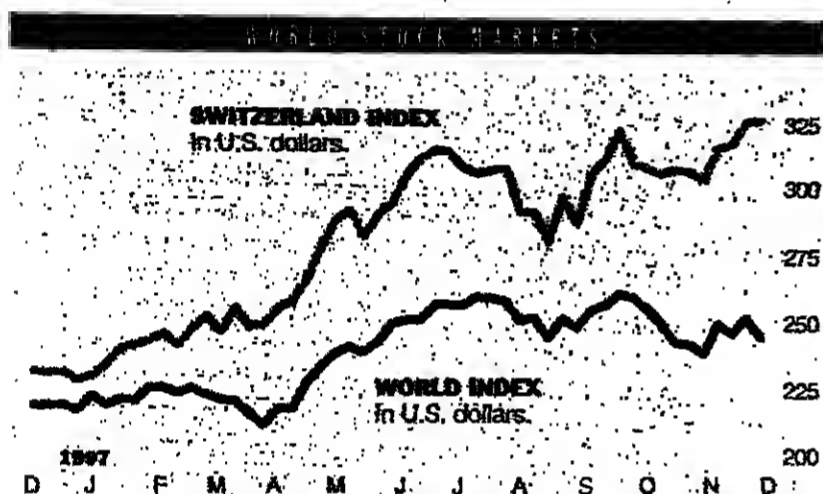
If she retires at 65 in January 2001 ...

\$739

If she retires at 70 in January 2006 ...

\$1,102

In today's dollars. Source: Social Security Administration



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Aquinas World Index, a measure of stock market performance. The FT index is compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

PERFORMANCE IN U.S. DOLLARS IN LOCAL CURR.

Table with 7 columns: Country, Index, Week % Chg., Week Rank, YTD % Chg., YTD Rank, Dividend Yield, Index, YTD % Chg. Lists countries like Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, etc.

COMPOSITE INDICES

Table with 4 columns: Index, Week % Chg., YTD % Chg., YTD Rank. Lists Europe, Pacific Basin, Europe/Pacific, World.

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1996 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

EXCHANGE RATES

Table with 4 columns: Exchange rate, Friday, Last Friday, Week % Chg., Year Ago. Lists Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar, German marks to the U.S. dollar, etc.

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets, exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

Labor Department surveys also suggest that married women are working in increasing numbers after their husbands stop, or at least that married women aged 55 to 64 are staying in the labor force in rising percentages while men are not. Nearly 3.5 million women in this group were in the labor force last year, or 48.6 percent of all married women 55 to 64, up from 41.3 percent in 1989 and 36.3 percent in 1980. But the percentage of married men in that age group in the labor force has fallen to 78.2 percent, from 75.4 percent in 1980.

Mrs. GENOVESE, who took a

salaried job in 1980 when the youngest of her four children was 13, came to exactly that conclusion. "If I work three more years, I'll be eligible for a pension of \$1,000 a month," she said. She made it clear that if her health held up, she would work indefinitely, qualifying for an even bigger pension. Her job also provides the couple's health insurance.



Women like Ruth Cambron, 73, of Sacramento, Calif. are choosing to continue their careers for years after their husbands have retired.

spousal benefit they would receive under their husbands' Social Security. That would be up from 33 percent today. And 20 percent of the women will qualify for pensions that are higher than those of their husbands, up from less than 10 percent today. But there is a caveat about projecting the trend forward. What Ms. Cambron, Ms. Kaul and Ms. Genovese share with many older married women is this: They took jobs and began careers relatively late in life after raising children or at least staying home until their children were in junior high school. Younger women, on the other hand, are far more likely to have careers that parallel those of their husbands. Once they reach retirement age, husband and wife, having gone through the same career cycles, may think alike about retirement.

The question is, will these younger

people prod each other to stay on the job or will they prod each other to retire," said Angela O'Rand, a Duke University sociologist and retirement specialist. For now, however, older husbands and wives are increasingly going in separate directions. Six months after her husband retired, Ms. Kaul is in high career, having entered the work force only 14 years ago, once her two children became teen-agers. She is even expanding her domain, looking into using retail stores as small, makeshift art galleries for Minnesota painters. Actually, her work as the art gallery director at Bemidji State University, 100 miles north of Minneapolis, where her husband, Marlin, had

taught for 30 years, is a part-time job. But Ms. Kaul has five part-time jobs, most of them as a paid consultant to various art councils and art projects in Minnesota. "I am in the process of proposing to the university a larger position for myself," she said. "It will probably be three-quarters time. I am suggesting that we start a museum program, to manage art collections and curate them for traveling exhibitions."

Still, the Kauls do not have to rely

on her income. Marlin Kaul's sweetened pension — a lump-sum payment and \$40,000 a year — is enough for them to live comfortably. The \$15,000 she brings home helps, of course, but her decision to keep working separates the Kauls from three couples who are their friends. The men, also professors at Bemidji, accepted sweetened pensions, too, and their wives have decided to retire with them. All three women had worked much longer than Ms. Kaul. "Two of them were in teaching careers," Ms. Kaul said, "and they no longer like their jobs enough to keep doing them anymore now that their husbands are retiring."

The decision also swings the other way. And when it does, a wife who continues to work sometimes ends up on Rosalind Barnett's couch. Ms. Barnett, a psychologist and senior researcher in women's issues at Brandeis University and Radcliffe College, recounts one patient's story: "Her husband, a lawyer who never liked what he did, lived for the day he could move to the woods in New Hampshire, and this was a nightmare for her," Ms. Barnett said. "She was the director of a nonprofit organization, involved in work and community life, with a big network of people around her, and he wanted to retire to a rural life style." In the end, the husband did not retire.

EVEN husbands who support

their wives' decisions to keep working can take a while to get there, as Dominic Genovese did. He had never cooked, and for five years after he retired he stayed out of the kitchen, which meant that his wife could not relax until she had prepared dinner. "The stress for me did not end with the job," she said. And the dinner hour became later and later. "That ticked me off," Mr. Genovese said. "But cooking is something I did not think of doing. I made the bed; that took only a few minutes. And I vacuumed; I did not want to be home with dog's hair around." A life-threatening stomach ailment changed his attitude toward cooking, he said — as did the fact that the couple's three adult sons

cook. He now makes dinner four nights a week. Howard Aronoff, 57, of Poughkeepsie, N.Y., also cooks. His mother had taught him, and in retirement, he took over that task from his wife, although she still does the grocery shopping. Unlike Mr. Genovese, Mr. Aronoff did not willingly retire: he took a buyout in 1993 from I.B.M., where he was a senior planner, rather than risk being laid off without any payment. After briefly trying a new career as an insurance salesman, "I drifted into retirement," Mr. Aronoff said. "When people found out I was no longer at I.B.M., they looked on me as a piece of dead wood."

Her husband's changed status

scared his wife, Roberta, who is 53. His earnings suddenly deflated from more than \$80,000 a year to a \$35,000 pension even as the couple, who were nearly finished paying for their two children's undergraduate education, were counting on the next five years to save for retirement. So she has continued in her nearly \$30,000-a-year job as the manager of a dental office, a position she had held for a decade. "You have to sit down and work out the money issues," she said. "My husband did that. He showed me, with spreadsheets, how we would get by, and that eased my mind. He found a way even to save a little."

The new budget meant belt-tightening. They bought a new car for her, for example, but he still drives a 1988 model. And their daughter, now at Harvard Law School, pays her own way. Sometimes a husband chooses retirement because changes at work suddenly make the job much more difficult. William Cambron found himself in this situation in 1985, when he was 62. For years, he had been a salesman for a wholesale company that offered a line of toasters and household wares to hardware stores. As those stores lost out to big discounters like Sam's Club, the Walmart unit, Mr. Cambron had to travel farther from the couple's home in Sacramento.

"They kept widening his territory

as the market dwindled, and he was tired," Ms. Cambron said. And so he stopped. When her husband retired, Ms. Cambron, a year younger, was only a decade into a career as a health care specialist in the California Department for the Aging. That job paid her \$50,000 a year when she retired two years ago and shifted to a job monitoring nursing homes for a nonprofit organization, earning just \$7,000 but working far fewer hours. Being older than 70, she is permitted to draw her full Social Security and a California state pension. They total \$37,000, exceeding her husband's retirement payments by \$7,000, even as she still draws a paycheck. "I would not be well off," she said, "if I had not continued working." □

Dec. 8-12: The Asian Crisis Continues, as the Dow Drops 3.8% in Five Days of Declines

Market summary section including PRICES (DOMESTIC EQUITIES, DOMESTIC BONDS, AROUND THE WORLD), YIELDS (BONDS, OTHER INVESTMENTS), and 90-DAY RELATIVE TREND charts for various market indices.

Anger and Amnesty In South Africa

By Mark Mathabane

In KERNERSVILLE, N.C., it is humanly possible to forgive someone who attaches a power generator to the chained hands and feet of other human beings, calmly, turns on the switch and then watches them writhe and foam blood at the mouth and ears as bursts of electricity fry every part of their bodies?

Earlier this year, when the Truth and Reconciliation Commission began its investigation of human rights abuses during the apartheid era in South Africa, I was among those who believed it was the ideal way to heal my homeland's deep racial wounds.

But in the past few months that belief has been severely tested. I've been shocked, sickened and enraged by what has surfaced during the testimony. Once again, I've felt hatred,

several bomb explosions and planting mines.

Sefola then pleaded for his life. When his pleas were ignored, he asked his interrogators if he could say something. He was permitted last rites. They untied him, and he stood up and began singing "Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika," the A.N.C. anthem. He then told his torturers that they could go ahead and kill him, but prophetically predicted that someday the A.N.C. would rule South Africa.

He resumed singing the anthem as he watched his two comrades being electrocuted. When his turn came to die, he thrust his clenched fist defiantly into the air and saluted his dead comrades in the name of the struggle. He met his fate like a true African warrior.

The three torturers who are now asking for amnesty didn't even have the decency to bury Sefola and his comrades. Instead they loaded the stiff bodies into a minibus, took them to a remote dirt road in the homeland of Bophuthatswana, placed them on a landmine and then detonated it to make it appear as if they had ineptly blown themselves up.

After listening to accounts of such atrocities, I found myself asking, Is it right to hijack justice for the sake of holding to a dubious truism about the past? What about the victims? What about the mothers who have lost their sons and daughters and husbands? What about the orphaned children I recently saw wandering the streets of my hometown of Alexandria, dressed in rags, sleeping in shacks without heat, scavenging for food in garbage heaps?

What about Given and Angie, my niece and nephew, who lost their fathers to an assassin's bullets? What about the youths scarred for life by torture? How can they be expected to accept that murderers and murderers are being set free, and that many sometimes return to their old jobs as policemen and receive pensions for their "honorable service to the country"?

The commission promised to grant amnesty to security force members who can prove that in torturing and murdering they were following orders.

But in much of the testimony I've heard — even from those whose motives for confessing have more to do with the cowardly urge to escape justice than to save their souls — few have proved that they were following specific orders.

Murderers and torturers should not be allowed to blame apartheid as their only excuse for criminal behavior. The commission should grant amnesty only to those who came exactly who gave them orders. So far, most have refused to do so. We must break their code of silence by refusing them amnesty.

Granting it to people who haven't fingered their superiors, as the commission has done many times so far, protects these suspects from being tried in criminal court or being sued by survivors or families of victims. Many of these survivors and families feel that justice has not been served. They aren't saints; they can forgive only where it is humanly possible to forgive — and where forgiveness is truly deserved.

Someone must be held responsible for these crimes. If a person proves that superiors gave him specific orders, then the superiors would be

Will my relatives and comrades be given a chance to forgive?

an emotion I fought hard to purge from my heart because it corrodes the soul and ossifies empathy.

I've wept without restraint at finally learning the fate suffered by friends, classmates, teachers, neighbors and comrades with whom I came of age after the Soweto Student Rebellion of June 16, 1976. That was the day when black South Africans finally threw down the gauntlet and dared the apartheid regime to do its worst, because we could no longer be denied freedom in our own country.

I've grappled with guilt. Guilt at recalling that two of my brothers-in-law were gunned down shortly after I published "Kaffir Boy" and began speaking out in the United States against apartheid.

Sometimes the guilt I feel is more generalized. Why did I survive when so many township youths, armed only with bricks, gasoline bombs and shields made from the dented lids of trash cans, died fighting the mightiest army in Africa? How did I escape when so many guerrilla fighters, who infiltrated the countryside, were betrayed by Askaris — former guerrillas turned informers — and then tortured and brutally murdered?

My generation was not afraid to die. That's what makes the stories revealed in testimony to the Truth Commission so wrenching.

Take the example of Harold Sefola, a member of Umkonto We Sizwe, the military wing of the African National Congress. After Sefola was betrayed by informers, the notorious Vlakplaas police unit took him to an open veld, where two of his comrades were already bound, awaiting their fate. An interrogator shoved a knife into his nose, and Sefola admitted to masterminding

Mark Mathabane, the author of "Kaffir Boy," a South African memoir, writes regularly on race and education.



Brian Conlin

responsible and can be tried.

Therefore, the Mandela Government should prosecute to the fullest extent of the law those who are clearly guilty and unrepentant. This may prove difficult. I know that the A.N.C., which I support, tortured people in its camps. And I was outraged and sickened by the testimony in the case against Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. No one's hands are clean. Eighteen years of living under apartheid taught me that there are no easy answers.

But the commission can set an example for South Africans and the world if, in the final report it plans to release next year, it strikes a balance between the search for the truth and the need for personal justice. Survivors and families of victims should have the prerogative to decide whether to forgive, which, remarkably, many of them choose to do.

There was a woman who spent years searching for those who had tortured and murdered her son. When the perpetrators were finally found, brought to trial and found guilty, the woman was asked by the judge what kind of punishment she wanted them to suffer.

"Punishment?" the woman asked, perplexed.

"Yes, punishment," the judge said. "We now have the power to punish such people."

"Oh, no," she said. "I was searching for these men for a different

reason, your honor."

"What reason?"

"I wanted to know whom to forgive," the woman said.

Finding the truth helped her forgive her son's murderers and uphold her integrity as a human being, rather than seek revenge and coolaminate her soul.

Reconciliation is possible, provided the families of victims do not believe that in the pursuit of truth, they are being denied justice. South Africans have shown a willingness to take the path toward national healing. Let's hope the Truth Commission is brave enough to do so as well.

Essay WILLIAM SAFIRE

Here Come the Indys

Comatose counsels hit their stride.

WASHINGTON

My status as Certified Social Pariah has just been confirmed by the White House, which has again stricken my name from the list of invitees to the Clinton media Christmas party. Also disinvited from this taxpayer-supported stroking function is my colleague Maureen Dowd, which leaves her devastated, as she had already beribboned a puppy biscuit for the new First Dog.

All I did lately was to point to this flagrant example of malfeasance in Lee Radek's laughably titled "Public Integrity" section at Justice: The serene-Democratic-evil bureaucrats there — influenced by the unconfusable Robert Litt, the Clintons' de facto boss of the Criminal Division — declined to prosecute a high official in the Agriculture Department, and then went to court to obstruct Independent Counsel Donald Smaltz's prosecution of the same man.

Now, two years later, despite Clinton Justice's wrongful protection of a corrupt Clinton official, a jury has convicted him for lying about a \$22,000 payment. That, in my book, is also an indictment of Public Integrity. Quis custodiet?

Here's some good news: Justice's Office of Professional Responsibility has launched an investigation of what one official calls "sommambalism at Public Integrity." If Janet Reno lets the departing Michael Shaheen's deputy, Richard Rogers, get to the reason for the attempted prosecutorial obstruction, we may see changes at the routing core of the department.

That is but one reason that I am greeted with a sense of progress in what

When Cox asked if Justice had commenced a preliminary investigation of Lippo check-handler Antonio Pan, she was forced to admit "No, we have not." Asked the same about the Clinton aide Mark Middleton, who may be in a different category, she again had to reveal she had not.

This comes on top of recent revelations in this space that Lippo's John Huang — at the center of the money-raising from foreign sources — has not been asked one question by the sleepwalkers at Justice. He has not taken the Fifth as he did with Coogress; he has just not been bothered, and we've known of his Oval Office assignment for 14 months.

But under oodling from the Burton committee, I get the sense that we'll be seeing a few token indictments soon. Then, when Burton brings forward the Babbitt Indians in January, Reno will be hard pressed to continue her protection of a Public Integrity section being discredited both from without and within. A new Indy Counsel for the campaign scandal is inevitable.

And that's not all: The writing press is advancing the story. The L.A. Times develops leads for Congress; the Wall Street Journal and New York Times editorialists are unrelenting, and David Johnston of The New York Times is uncovering Justice as nobody else. (Hillary Clinton will be leading out extra eggnog to The Washington Post, defender of Reno, at the holiday bash.)

That's why I have this sense of security about the republic as the holiday season approaches. Exposure of wrongdoing is in the air. Here come the chickens to roost.

In America BOB HERBERT

The Success Taboo

Somehow over the past two or three decades a lot of black kids absorbed the message that academic achievement was something to be shunned. Excellence in sports or the various entertainment fields was one thing, a good thing, but high marks and academic honors were something else. Academic achievement, according to this mind-bogglingly destructive way of thinking, was a white thing, and thus in some sense contemptible. The tragic result has been that in many schools across the country black kids who apply themselves to their studies are often ridiculed and at times ostracized.

A black teacher in the Bronx told me in a despairing tone that she has male students who would rather be paraded in handcuffs before television cameras than be caught reading a book. I've had many students tell me in interviews that they are afraid to raise their hands in the classroom because they don't want to repeat the experience of being laughed at for giving the correct answer.

A black 17-year-old girl who worked part time at a mall in Marietta, Ga., was taunted recently by high school classmates who showed up at her job to express their resentment at the high marks she was getting.

Now, and not a moment too soon, comes Hugh Price, president of the National Urban League, with an ambitious first step toward turning this madness around.

"We haven't surrounded our young people with enough opportunities to excel academically and to be recognized for excelling," said Mr. Price. "We haven't had the rituals in our own community that reward young people for doing well."

The Urban League has drawn together 20 national black organizations, including the Congress of National Black Churches, for what it calls the Campaign for African-American Achievement. The idea is to improve the academic standing of black youngsters by encouraging and rewarding excellence in the classroom, and by improving the quality of the education that is offered to black youngsters in the public schools.

A statement announcing the campaign said: "We have to reverse the increasing gap in academic achievement between African-American and other children. We have to increase the low rates of enrollment of African-American youngsters in college preparatory courses and attack the inequitable allocation

of resources for public education." There is an urgency in Mr. Price's manner as he talks about this effort. He and his colleagues recognize that black men and women will have to be substantially better prepared educationally if they are to survive economically as we move into the 21st century. Employers, as Mr. Price noted, "expect much more in the way of academic preparation than ever before." And affirmative action, however one feels about it, is almost certain to continue its fade from the scene.

The achievement campaign will try in a variety of ways to generate energy

When black students excel.

enthusiasm among students and parents for the hard work that is necessary to succeed academically. This will not be easy in environments that are plagued by poverty, broken families, drug abuse, violence and the widespread notion that what is taught in the classroom is not relevant to the lives of the students.

The campaign will establish an honor society, called the National Achievers Society, to focus attention on black youngsters who excel academically. The first induction ceremony, to be presided over by Gen. Colin Powell, will be held next spring.

September has been designated Achievement Month by the campaign. The plan is to have Urban League affiliates, black churches and other organizations conduct a month-long series of high-profile events each year celebrating the efforts of black youngsters who are doing well in school.

Meanwhile, leaders of the campaign are working with professional organizations and universities around the country to determine where improvements in the public schools need to be made and what specific kinds of academic help are needed for under-achieving students.

This is not a perfect plan. Much of it will be modified and some of it will fail. But it does send the crucial message that academic achievement is as important for black people as anyone else. It's a message that somehow has escaped the consciousness of too many black children.

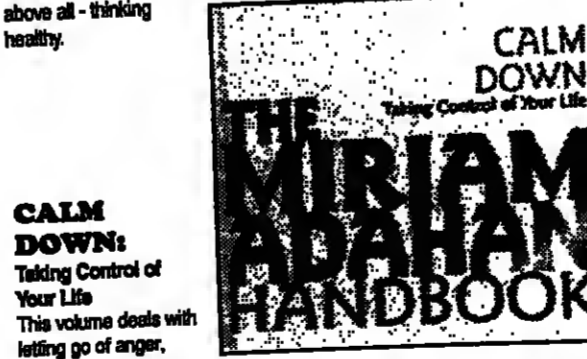
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THE ARTS

The Hollywood Taskmaster Who Made 'Titanic'

By JUSTINE ELIAS

WHEN IT OPENS ON Friday, "Titanic," the movie that has long been the subject of Hollywood gossip and public fascination, will be almost six months late and \$100 million over its original \$100 million budget. But there is nothing personally slow or extravagant about the film's director, writer, producer and editor, James Cameron. He is a tall, thin man with a pale, hard-edged face and a brutal haircut, and he is a supremely focused taskmaster who speaks so fast that his associates can scarcely apprehend one of his ideas before he has moved to the next.

Case in point: As Mr. Cameron critiqued the final cut of "Titanic," giving his last directions regarding its printing, his obsessive, rapid-fire remarks so confounded his colleagues that they had to scramble to videotape him so they would be able to review his commentary later and carry out his orders. "There's no way to take notes when I get going," Mr. Cameron said recently. "And usually there is no second chance."

During a decade-long run of seven technically innovative, emotionally complex action films — from "The Terminator" (1984) to "Aliens" (1986) to "True Lies" (1994) — Mr. Cameron, who is 43, moved boldly in establishing himself as the leading action-movie director. All told, his films have earned more than half a billion dollars and 18 Academy Award nominations. "Titanic," which is both a lavish simulation of one of the worst sea disasters ever and an old-style romance, starring Leonardo DiCaprio and Kate Winslet, may serve notice that Mr. Cameron is something more: a Hollywood director who has learned how to put technological innovation, and a huge budget, at the service of drama.

Mr. Cameron is known for his perfectionism and for highbanded dealings with actors, crew and studio bosses. His friend William Wisler, with whom he wrote the screenplay for "Terminator 2: Judgment Day," calls him, only half-joking, "the ultimate scuba-diving Navy Seal filmmaker." But Mr. Cameron also has a reputation for getting things done under adverse circumstances, and that reputation will be enhanced now that "Titanic," despite its troubled

note control from a small submarine. (Film from this expedition is included in "Titanic," as part of a contemporary story that frames the historical account.)

In May 1996, the original hacker of "Titanic," 20th Century Fox, became nervous about Mr. Cameron's rising costs and sought a production partner. Paramount kicked in \$65 million, on the condition that it have the distribution rights in the United

'You can't have a love story without death,' says James Cameron.

States and Canada. As Mr. Cameron continued to film the contemporary part of his story on a Russian scientific boat off the coast of Nova Scotia, Fox finished constructing its new production center in Rosarito, Mexico. There, in the fall of 1996, set designers constructed a nine-tenths-scale model of the opulent ship and a 12-acre water tank, and Mr. Cameron proceeded to re-create the sinking of the Titanic.

After shooting fell a month behind schedule — because of weather and technical difficulties and not, Mr. Cameron said, injuries on the set and a bizarre incident in which 80 members of the cast and crew were poisoned by tainted seafood — the projected release date, July 2, became impossible to meet. To help cut costs during the additional months of post-production, Mr. Cameron offered to forgo the salaries for his work as director and producer, receiving only his screenwriting fee.

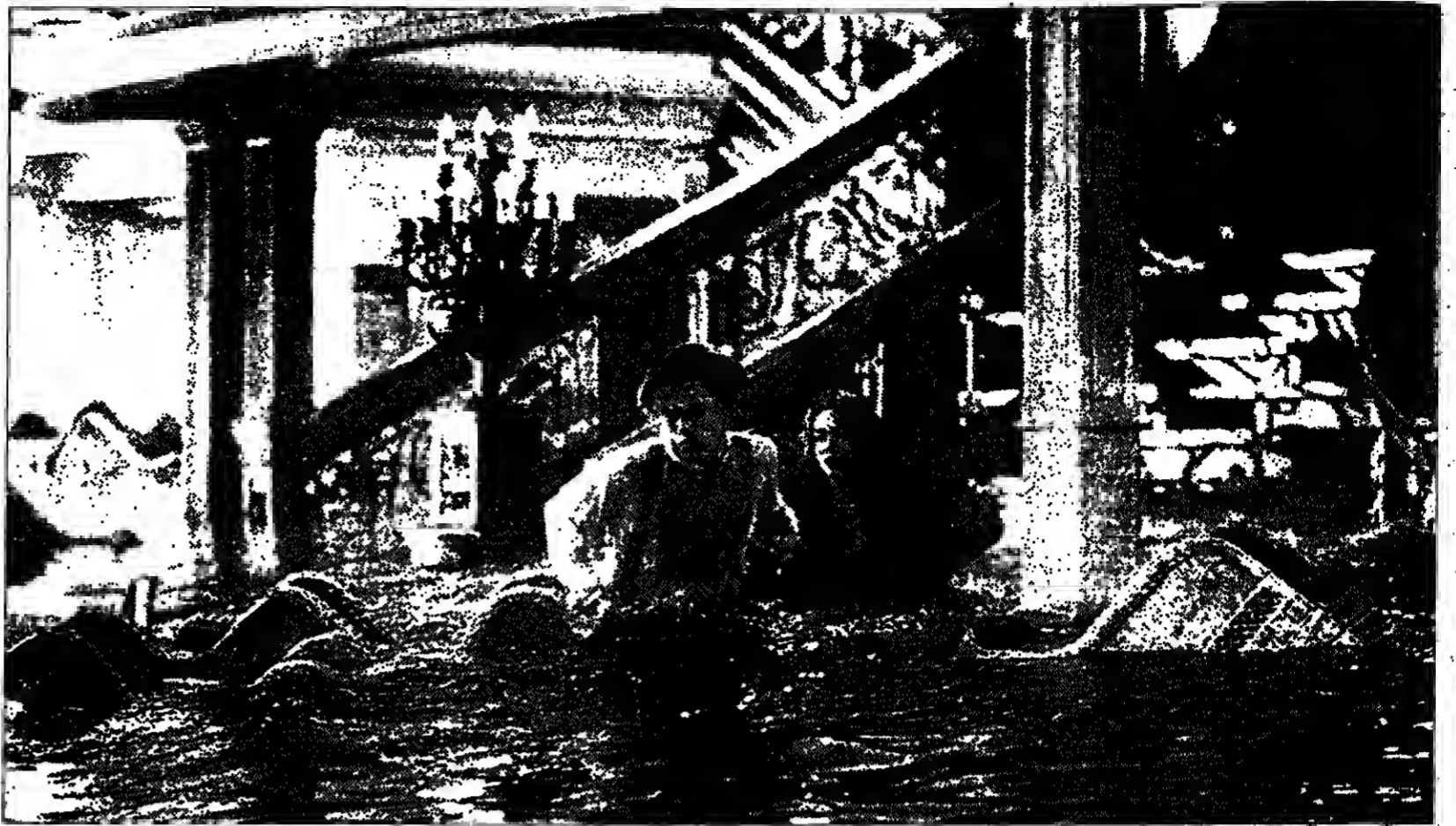
MR. CAMERON'S PREVIOUS screen stories, about self-reliant heroines who tangle with killer aliens, killer androids and killer spies, were composed on a large canvas. This time, he has dared to go farther, setting his story in the midst of one of the most potent symbols of 20th-century hubris. He said he wanted audiences to come away from "Titanic" not primarily awed by effects-driven spectacle but humbled by the depiction of the hard choices faced by the people on the ship.

Mr. Cameron said that in his "Titanic" he wanted to take a different tack from that taken in the almost documentarylike "Night to Remember," the acclaimed 1958 British film. "I wanted to honor the reality of Titanic, but I don't want that to get in the way of telling a great story," he said. "This is the most character-driven script I've ever done. I wanted it to be about the Titanic in the way that 'Dr. Zhivago' is about the Russian Revolution. It isn't, really. It's about these two people."

"Titanic" centers on the ill-starred romance of a society girl, Rose DeWitt Bukater (Ms. Winslet), and a penniless artist, Jack Dawson (Mr. DiCaprio), two teen-agers who find in each other the will to survive. "You can't have a great love story without death being a factor," Mr. Cameron said. "If you care for somebody else, you become aware of their mortality, and everything you do is informed by that."

The contemporary story, set aboard a treasure hunter's ship and narrated by Rose (Gloria Stuart), now 101 years old, is "about the transference of dynamic energy from one person to another to another," the director said. "The greatest loves in a person's life are the ones that have a transformative effect. You can't really change; you can only emerge."

Mr. Cameron has vast experience with this subject; he has been married four times, most recently to the actress Linda Hamilton, the star of the "Terminator" movies. "Of course, that's a very optimistic view of relationships," he added. "Some-



Leonardo DiCaprio and Kate Winslet in "Titanic" — technological innovation and a huge budget at the service of drama.

times it works in the opposite way: it can bring out the worst in a person."

What brings out the worst in Mr. Cameron, at least in a professional setting, was the subject of much ill-timed repartee from the set of "Titanic." He makes no apologies for his toughness on actors and crew members, but he is infuriated by reports of unsafe conditions on the Mexican set. Though one crew member was injured driving her own car in an after-hours road accident, and three stunt players broke bones, no actors or extras required hospital treatment, the film's producers say.

EVEN BEFORE HE STARTED "Titanic," Mr. Cameron's tendency to browbeat cast and crew when things didn't go his way had become the stuff of Hollywood legend. (The name of his production company, Lightstorm, seems oddly appropriate, reflecting his inclination toward brief, intimidating outbursts.)

"I definitely have this kind of reputation, and it's probably deserved up to a certain extent," he acknowledged.

In any case, he has built up an army of devoted friends and employees, most of whom are eager to work with him again. One member of the "Titanic" team who is unlikely to do so, however, is the film's original cinematographer, Caleb Deschanel, who left "Titanic" after only two weeks of filming off Nova Scotia. Mr. Deschanel, who earned Academy Award nominations for photographing "Fly Away Home," "The Natural" and "The Right Stuff," is also a respected director.

"His work is beautiful, no question about it," Mr. Cameron said of Mr. Deschanel. "But he has been directing his own films, and I didn't know enough about his methodology. He is much more suited to working with a director whose only interest is working with the actors."

Mr. Deschanel's replacement was Russell Carpenter, the cinematographer on "True Lies," who early on had filmed some studio test footage for "Titanic" and rejoined the project at short notice when the filming moved to Mexico.

"There is a craziness that he builds into every situation that he thrives on," Mr. Carpenter said of Mr. Cameron. "But that seems to be the creative cradle from which all his best stuff comes."

When things go wrong, Mr. Cameron does tend to yell or make withering remarks. "Because he thinks so fast, he can have a hair-trigger tem-

per on the set," said Mr. Carpenter. Mr. Cameron's exploration of love and loyalty in extremis may well have been born of his experience growing up in Niagara Falls, Ontario. His mother was an artist, his father an electrical engineer. As the oldest of five children, Mr. Cameron was ringleader in stunts like tree-house sabotage, U.F.O. hoaxes and huddling medieval-style weaponry.

When he was 17, the family moved to Brea, a town in Southern California. According to Mr. Wisler, Mr. Cameron's films reflect three hobbies he pursued as a teen-ager: scuba diving, painting and writing science fiction. After a two-year stint at a local college studying physics, and a brief marriage in his early 20's, Mr. Cameron found a job at Roger Corman's New World Films, the same low-budget, low-paying production company where directors like Francis Ford Coppola and Jonathan

Demme learned their craft. His first assignment was building models for the space saga "Battle Beyond the Stars."

"Within about three weeks, Jim went from getting guys coffee to being the art director and running the whole show," Mr. Wisler said. "He had talent and fire and drive. He would work until he dropped." Mr. Cameron's first directing credit was the maudisious "Piranha 2: The Spawning" (1981). When the film's Italian producers tried to dismiss him during the editing, Mr. Cameron recalled, he stole the finished print and recut it. One of Mr. Cameron's co-workers at New World was Gale Anne Hurd, who later produced the script for "The Terminator" and became his second wife. Their professional union outlasted their marriage; the two were divorcing "as they worked on 'The Abyss,' which is about an es-

tranged couple and alien life on the ocean floor.

Between the making of "Terminator 2" (1991) and "True Lies," Mr. Cameron was also producer for the movies "Strange Days" and "Point Break," which were directed by his third wife, Kathryn Bigelow. After "Titanic," he said, he plans to take a similar break, producing action films by other directors and searching for a smaller-scale project to call his own.

"I've been thinking about that a lot: going back to that hand-held Cassavetes-type stuff," he said. "The film would have to be so stripped down. The second I added one digital shot, it would invite comparison to films I'd done on a much greater budget. I would want it to be a pure writing-and-acting exercise, with nothing else to get dazzled or distracted by." □



James Cameron.

history, is arriving in theaters, to much early acclaim, with some chance of breaking even if not actually making money.

The history of the movie is almost as familiar as that of the Titanic, the state-of-the-art British ocean liner that sank in the early hours of April 15, 1912, after colliding with an iceberg in the North Atlantic (more than 1,500 of some 2,200 people aboard died). Mr. Cameron and his team started to research the ship's story more than five years ago. In typical Cameron fashion, he eventually insisted on filming the actual wreckage, which was discovered in 1986 about 400 miles off the coast of Newfoundland.

He did so with the help of his brother Michael, a mechanical engineer who fashioned a mobile titanium housing that could protect a 35-millimeter movie camera from the water pressure two and a half miles down and could be operated by re-



Arnold Schwarzenegger and Jamie Lee Curtis in Mr. Cameron's pre-"Titanic" film, "True Lies."

HEY, IT'S A LIVING

BY NANCY SALOMON / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS 1 Calculating machine inventor, 1642 7 Reach 14 Protest 20 Delphi temple god 21 Invented word 22 Fingerprint features 23 Supper 24 Job for a restaurant server? 26 Pesticide 28 Had dinner at home 29 Three-way joint 30 Professional org. 33 Milne marsupial 34 Yugoslav novelist — Andric 35 Mildew cause 39 Job for a statistician? 43 Hurling the most 44 Alan and Adam 45 Blintzes, e.g. 49 Dustup 50 Player for coach Marv Levy 51 Embargoes 52 Job for a plastic surgeon? 57 Skid row look 60 Tomato-impact noises 61 — man 62 70's All-Star — Otis 63 Most like a wallflower 64 Worry 66 Job for a mathematician? 72 Plays the siren 73 Quark/aotquark particles 74 Rudolf's refusal 75 Man-mouse link 76 Food on a tray 77 What squeaky wheels get 82 Job for a relay racer? 85 Like Mongolia 86 Photography woe 87 Scull 88 Summooed 90 Jack 92 Styx ferryman 95 Job for a critic? 97 London institution 99 Rhine feeder 100 Second-century date 103 1978 disaster film, with "The" 101 Thumbs up 102 Airport info: Abbr. 105 Ripoffs 108 Job for a debutante? 113 Panama party 117 Screenfuls 118 Caught by surprise, with "on" 119 Athlete's assignment 120 Lohengrin and others 121 Toast opening 122 Tempt

DOWN 1 Course oumber 2 Goon 3 Bread, maybe 4 Sound of shutters in the wind 5 Minor-party candidate 6 Avon products 7 Parrot 8 Word ending in "o" in Esperanto 9 Compass pt. 10 Solve 11 Check words 12 Chill 13 Not strong 14 Have a little 15 Scholarly type 16 One to remember, for short 17 Spiels 18 Like the best ruse 19 "Women Who Run With the Wolves" author 25 Collections 27 Landscaper's oeed 30 Iraqis, e.g. 31 Singing Osmond 32 Shackles site 34 Woes of the world 36 Dew times 37 Push 38 Speaker's name 40 It's west of Dublin 41 Benedictines 42 They're not free of charge 46 Frees 47 Like carpet 48 Outburst 51 Ring holder 53 Synchronized 54 Lone Star State sch. 55 Christmas stocking item 56 Lady of a 1918 hit 58 Big name in morning radio 59 — woe't be afraid! (1961 pop lyric) 60 Classic Alan Ladd western 63 Dish out messily 64 Ruckus 65 Place for bouquets 66 Delete, with "out" 67 Money in the making 68 Mrs. Katzenjammer, e.g. 69 Wards (off) 70 Manner of speech 71 Stage of a race 76 Bank 77 1982 Disney film 78 A1 from New Orleans 79 Cosmetics brand 80 Urbane 81 Marine filers 83 Chesterfield or substitute 84 Mata — 85 Way off 89 Violate, with "on" 90 Cold symptom 91 Bibliophile's concern 92 Some trim 93 Screenwriter Mankiewicz 94 Leaves home? 96 Hotshot 97 Kind of approval 98 Buckle opener 99 Passion 104 It's just for openers 105 Unbending 106 Shotgunner 107 Branch 108 Swellhead's excess 110 Anthem preposition 111 Letters before many state names 112 "Girls" (Kelly musical) 114 Tackle moguls 115 Shamus 116 "— we having fun yet?"

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

Handwritten note: 2/14/97

Silent voices of the Holocaust

Two American professors are making sure the stories of deaf survivors are heard, Michael J. Jordan writes from Budapest

Peter Farago should have died long ago. The Nazis and their twisted theories on eugenics and euthanasia had earmarked all handicapped Jews for a speedy death. And Farago, deaf since birth, fit the bill.

He arrived at Bergen-Belsen in December 1944 as a quiet, chubby 10-year-old from Hungary and immediately was separated from his mother. Alone and hungry, Farago approached other kids while simultaneously motioning to his mouth and rubbing his stomach.

That's when Pavel saw him. The hearing son of deaf Pavel, 13, recognized Farago was communicating in sign language. Pavel signed to him the advice that would save his life: don't let the guards see you.

"I don't even know if he knew the reason, just that I shouldn't draw attention to myself," said Farago, now 63 and living in Budapest. "It was in 1946 that I learned about the gas chambers, and that all of those handicapped had been taken there first."

Stories like Farago's are now being told, or signed, in one of the first efforts to document a "manual" history of the Holocaust. The project is the brainchild of two American professors from Gallaudet University in Washington, DC, the only US university for the deaf. The pair is currently touring Central Europe to videotape the testimony of deaf Jews who survived the concentration camps, labor camps and ghettos.

The deaf Holocaust perspective has its unique aspects: while they didn't hear the terrified screams

and crying, they registered the vibrations of exploding bombs and gunshots. And more than other camp prisoners, they required the discreet helping hand of a comrade. An inestimable number of disabled never made it that far.

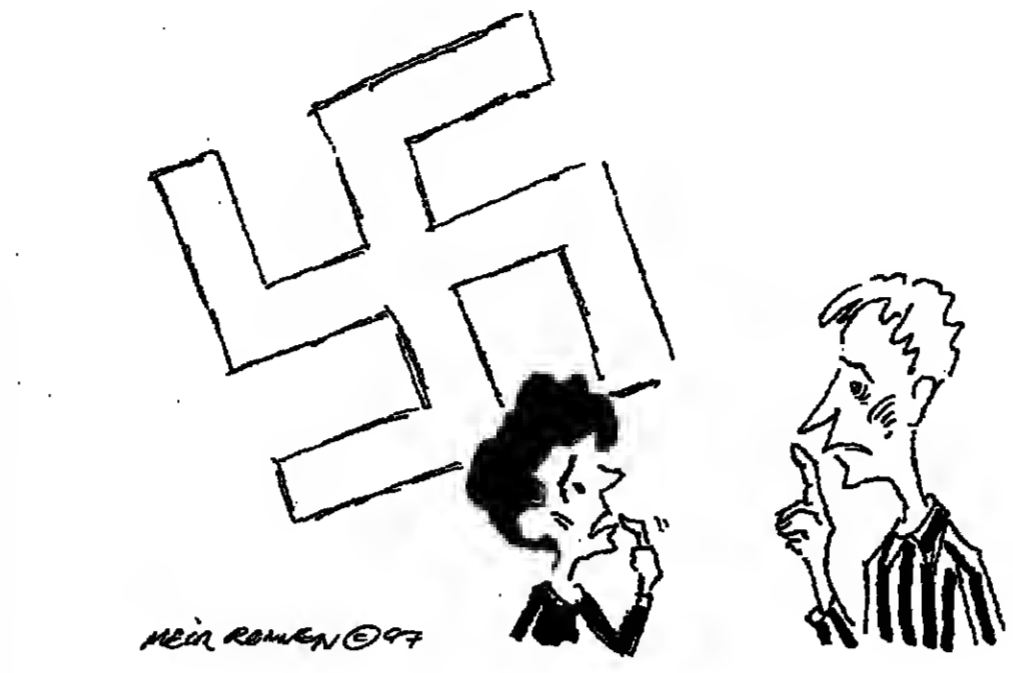
This video project also is part of a growing, sometimes controversial trend toward identifying each of the groups that suffered at the hands of the Nazis.

In 1933, the Weimar Republic targeted for sterilization those with hereditary physical or mental handicaps who were considered obstacles to creating a master race, ranging from the deaf or blind to the schizophrenic or manic-depressive. That policy soon turned to extermination.

"The deaf are a group that was discriminated against before, after and, of course, during the Holocaust," said Gallaudet professor John Schuchman, a historian of the deaf, and author of a book on deaf Hollywood actors during the era of silent films. "This is a story of the Holocaust, but it's also a story of the deaf community. Various groups are entitled to their history."

Schuchman and his colleague, Donna Ryan, have joined forces with Israel Sela, director of Hungary's American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee office. Sela, who did his doctoral thesis on deafness at Gallaudet, conducted the first census of the deaf community in Israel.

"The deaf survived the war as broken vessels," said Sela, whose hearing-impaired parents provided temporary shelter to deaf Holocaust survivors soon after the



war and helped them find homes, jobs and counseling in Israel. "Society was never aware of their special needs."

One of the first things Sela did upon his arrival in Budapest three years ago was to place a plaque on the site of the former Jewish school for the deaf. It was one of seven such Jewish schools in Central Europe.

Peter Farago was a student at the school in March 1944, when Nazi-backed Hungarian fascists began cleansing the countryside of Jews. In May he and his mother, Anna, 37, were herded into a ghetto in their hometown, Oroshaza, with the community's 900 other Jews.

By June they were aboard a train headed for Auschwitz. But they were "lucky"; the tracks through what is now Slovakia had been bombed, forcing them to be rerouted to Austria. They remained in a detention center in Vienna for six months, before

being deported to Bergen-Belsen in December.

There, Pavel took Farago under his wing. Several children were dying around them. So the younger boy followed Pavel's lead, and they signed to each other only when it was safe.

When on line for roll-call each morning, Pavel stood next to Farago, tapping or squeezing his hand to let him know when to respond to his name being called. Grateful for the friendship and guidance, Farago gave Pavel some of his rations of bread or potato.

Once the camp was liberated in March 1945, they parted ways. In the 52 years since, Farago has never attempted to contact Pavel. He does, however, recall him fondly as the tall, thin boy with "beautiful blond hair."

"I don't want to meet him because all the memories would come up," said Farago, who was reunited with his mother in

Hungary after the war. "But I think about him all the time and keep him in my heart."

Presented with many other equally compelling stories, Schuchman and Ryan spent longer than expected in Budapest, the first leg of their trip. More and more deaf survivors kept coming forward. Now they are moving on to continue their work in Prague, Berlin, Cracow and perhaps Warsaw, to conduct some two dozen interviews. The material will be deposited in the archives at Gallaudet.

The duo plans to return for more interviews next summer, then will host an international conference on the deaf and the Holocaust. Ryan also will assist a Holocaust museum in creating a special section for deaf survivors.

"Your stories will become part of their stories," Ryan told a gathering of deaf survivors in Budapest recently. "Your stories will be told."

The glory days of Hama'apil

Imagine Maccabi Tel Aviv being relegated someday to basketball's second division. For old-timers, the equivalent happened last year when Hapoel Hama'apil fell out of the premier volleyball league.

This is not a sports story. It's about life as some Israelis still cling to it, about the changed values of our society, about faded ideologies and, if you want to go so far, even the death of old-fashioned patriotism.

Volleyball, until the late-1970s, was immensely popular in this country. Sports pages allotted great tracts of space to league games, and to the exploits of our teams in European tournaments.

The team from Kibbutz Hama'apil, northeast of Netanya, began playing together in the sandbox of the kibbutz nursery.

"It was an organic team," explains Yuval Danieli, a strapping 53-year-old who was one of the stars of yore. "We grew up together, we were from the same place. We had wonderful solidarity, the same mentality, the same slang, the same code. In 1959 we began playing together, informally, and a year later for the first time as a team. In 1963, we beat Ein Shemer for our first national championship."

The boys from Hama'apil would go on to win the championship 14 years in a row. The girls grabbed some headlines of their own, winning seven state titles. Danieli's wife Leah was on the national team.

They were Israeli heroes, but don't think it went to their heads. They were kibbutzniks, in the socialist heyday.

"We played for pride. There was a feeling of intense patriotism. For all of us it was a way of life, part of our identity. In a way, it's what kept us here."

"Even when outsiders began playing for us, in the '70s, they weren't paid; they would do anything to wear the Hama'apil jersey. It was all for pride."

"Today?" Danieli glowers.

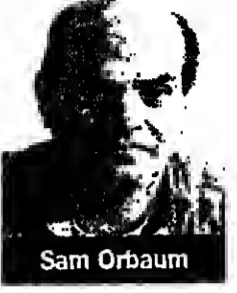
"Today, they're all hired Bulgarians; the team that pays the most for outsiders wins. Now, it's 'our Bulgarians' against 'their Bulgarians.' The name 'Hapoel Hama'apil' is fictitious now. In the old days, Hama'apil was you."

He shakes his head, but without sadness. "I'm not interested in volleyball anymore."

Their coach, still revered by the players as a legend, was Zvi Sinto, who died in 1969 of a heart attack at the age of 35.

"Zvi Sinto made us. His philosophy was that we must win - but not at all costs. The human side was more important. If even our best player was out of line, Sinto wouldn't let him play."

Not Page One



Sam Orbaum

important game, we might get half a day off."

There was not even a budget for travel expenses. A team bus? They couldn't even spend on a public bus to get to a road game.

"We'd pile onto the banana truck - sometimes with a load of bananas - or we'd hitch-hike."

The team regularly represented Israel in the European championships, once finishing as high as eighth.

Danieli smiles. "It was a kibbutz, so we had to give everyone a chance to go with us, as delegation head. The members would be asked, one by one, if they wanted to accompany us. It didn't matter if they knew anything about the sport, though. One time, a Turkish member agreed to head our team at a tournament in Turkey, but he spent all his time at the bazaar."

When Europeans came here to play, the kibbutz would host them. Nothing fancy, of course, but the visitors loved the friendly homesickness.

"Now it's all synthetic: guests come, they're put up in a hotel."

DANIELI STRESSES that, despite their fame and success in sport, the players kept it all in careful perspective.

"It was, after all, only sport. We were well-rounded individuals. I also had my work, in the banana fields, and later, in avocados. And my other interests, art and cooking."

Danieli, a renowned artist, displays a thick file of newspaper clippings and exhibit notices. He's a bit embarrassed to admit he left the fields for an office job - he's now secretary of the kibbutz - and not altogether delighted that his 12-year-old son Omer has forsaken volleyball for basketball. The kid's room is plastered with posters of NBA stars, while photos of Dad (and Mom) are relegated to dusty albums.

But Dad forgives: he proudly, if apologetically, shows off Omer's basketball trophies. There seems to be a touch of ideological rebellion in Omer's choice.

Strolling through the kibbutz, lovely and lush though it is suffering economic hardship, Danieli reflects on past and present, victory and loss.

"I suppose I'm a realistic nostalgic, so I see the differences. What ails the kibbutzim was unavoidable: the young don't want the umbrella of absolute collectivism. They want to see how far they can go in life. They want openness. I blame it all on the telecommunications revolution."

There is no more ideological motivation - to dedicate your life to the fields, to play volleyball for pride rather than profit.

"We used to play outdoors, in the rain, the cold, the heat, the dark, and the entire kibbutz would stand at the sidelines, cheering every point. We played on a hard, gravel-embedded surface that shredded our knees and elbows."

He steps onto the "new" court, built almost 30 years ago, when the team was already a national institution.

"Huh. Look at this." Danieli toes a faint, faded yellow line. "You can hardly see the volleyball markings anymore."

There are black lines demarcating the court, but they're for basketball and soccer. Garbage litters the sidelines, where their adoring fans used to stand.

"You know, league rules now forbid playing outdoors, so Hapoel Hama'apil doesn't even play its home games at Hama'apil anymore. Imagine!"

A bunch of outsiders, playing who-knows-where, for money, in the second division. "Ah, who cares," he says.

Danieli steps off the court, and goes home.

Death guru Kubler-Ross can't wait to die

By PATRICIA COMMINS

Dr. Elisabeth Kubler-Ross, the Swiss-born psychiatrist who literally wrote the book on death and dying, looks forward to conversing in the next life with a man she avoided in this one - Carl Jung.

"When I die, the first person I want to talk to is Jung," said Kubler-Ross, whose first book, *On Death and Dying*, catapulted her to international fame. She was interviewed at her home on a secluded desert road outside Scottsdale, Arizona.

Because she never intended to become a psychiatrist, she said, she did not approach the famous Swiss psychiatrist when she saw him walking around Zurich while she was a first-year medical student there.

"I avoided him," she recalled with a laugh, her voice becoming stronger in spite of the half-dozen strokes she has suffered. "I was afraid that if I ever talked to this guy I would become a shrink. And it was the last thing in the world I ever wanted to be."

At age 73, Kubler-Ross believes she is at the end of her life, which prompted her to write her latest book, *The Wheel of Life: A Memoir of Living and Dying*, published this

year. With a strong belief in an afterlife and deep spiritual convictions, she said she is not afraid to die.

"After working with dying patients for half a century, I can't wait," Kubler-Ross said as she stretched out in a reclining chair, chain-smoking Dunhill cigarettes between sips of black tea. "There is nothing to be afraid of."

Kubler-Ross earned a reputation in the field of death and dying from her lectures to medical and theology students at the University of Chicago in the 1960s. Dr. Edward Senay, a professor in the university's psychiatry department, recalled how her lectures quickly grew in popularity.

"She was a very charismatic speaker," said Senay, who worked with Kubler-Ross in a psychiatric counseling service at the university hospital. "There were several people [working in death and dying] at the time but they never crossed the line from the medical community to the community at large. She did that."

Kubler-Ross' work also sparked controversy. In her memoirs she wrote of physicians who tried to keep her from talking to their patients or recruiting them to appear at

her lectures.

She also raised eyebrows in the psychiatric community with her interest in near-death experiences, life after death and spirituality.

Later she encountered virulent opposition from local residents when she tried to establish a home for children with AIDS at her farm in Virginia. That project was thwarted when her farm burned in a fire she believes was set by arsonists.

"I always did what felt right, not what other people expected of me," Kubler-Ross said. "I have never listened to other people's opinions." Now she believes she has one more lesson to learn before she dies or, as she puts it, "graduates."

"There are two questions you are asked [when you die]," Kubler-Ross said. "How much love have you been able to give and receive, and how much service have you rendered? Love to give, I pass. Love to receive, I fail. So that's why I'm still hanging around."

Looking back on her life, she believes she has certainly passed the test on service given. She counts as her No. 1 accomplishment helping to establish hospices for terminally ill patients.

"Kubler-Ross, no question, has been the intellectual inspiration for the hospice movement in this country," said Jack Gordon, president of the Hospice Foundation of America.

She also helped to bring humane treatment to prisoners with AIDS and established "ET Centers" - named for the character in her favorite movie, *E.T. - The Extra-Terrestrial* - that bring toddlers and the elderly together under the same roof.

In the living room of her white stucco house in the Arizona desert, as birds fluttered in a feeder at the window, Kubler-Ross pondered what she regretted not having accomplished in her life.

"I'm sorry I don't play an instrument. I would love to play and sing," she said, looking across the room where a family photograph showed her ex-husband Manny Ross, who has since died, her son, Ken, a photographer, and her daughter, Barbara, a clinical psychologist.

"[When I die] I'm going to dance first in all the galaxies. - I'm going to play and dance and sing."

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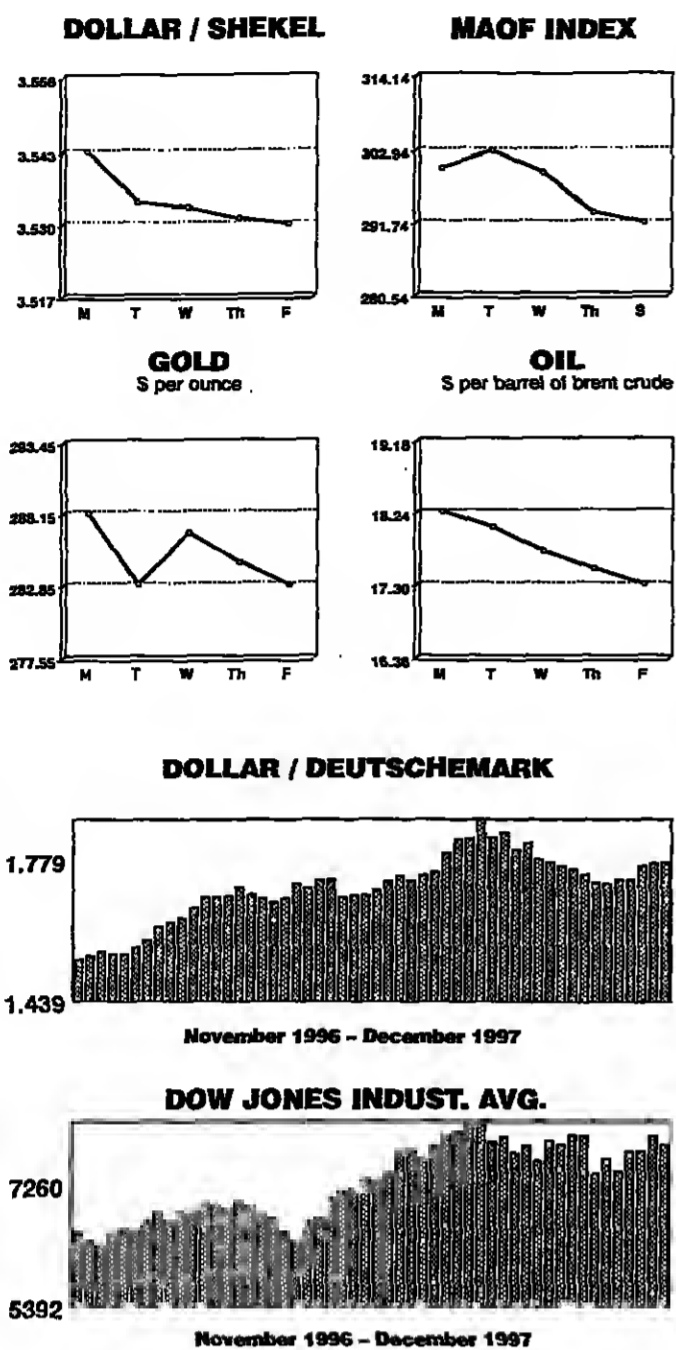
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MARKETS

in brief



IEC raises \$425m. in US bonds

Israel Electric Corporation last week raised \$425 million — about \$300m. through the issuance of 30-year bonds and the remainder through the sale of 10-year bonds. The IEC initially estimated it would raise \$250m. as part of its 12-month plan to raise money for long-term projects. *David Harris*

Tichon calls for capital investment aid rethink

Knesset Speaker Dan Tichon recently called on the government and the Knesset to revamp the law encouraging capital investment, which is "old and anachronistic" and not suited to the needs of high-tech industry. Tichon said this during a tour of Jerusalem's high-tech companies, including ECI Telecom, AVX-Israel, and Rocard International. *Judy Siegel*

If You Believe That Gold Has Lost its Luster, Don't Read This Ad

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Panel to explore new central-bank bill

By DAVID HARRIS

The cabinet yesterday approved the creation of a committee to formulate a new Bank of Israel Law.

The committee members, to be headed by a retired judge, have yet to be selected.

The decision was welcomed by the central bank as "a very positive step." The committee will examine all the functions of the bank and decide how best it should operate, while ensuring its independence from the govern-

ment or any other body.

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu will appoint the members of the committee, which will make its recommendation no later than June 30, 1998.

The proposal was brought to the government by Netanyahu, Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman and Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi. The move came after Bank of Israel Governor Jacob Frenkel said any reform in the central bank should originate from the government.

During the summer, Labor MK and former finance minister Avraham Shohat attempted to introduce legislation on the subject.

In May the central bank called for the creation of a new basic law for the bank and a board of monetary experts to help the governor achieve the government-set monetary targets.

The bank sees the need for the following key criterion to be met by the committee's recommendations:

- The guarantee of full independence for

the central bank to enable it to achieve the desired stability.

- The guarantee of transparency and accountability to the government, Knesset and public.

- The establishment of a decision-making framework within the bank. This includes the creation of a monetary board, to be headed by the governor and comprising experts independent of the bank.

In July, the bank handed to Netanyahu its recommendations for the new law.

Ind. exports up 7.2% in Nov.

Industrial exports, including diamonds, totalled \$1.65 billion in November, a 7.2 percent increase over the same period a year ago. Exports of polished diamonds totalled \$391 million last month, a 0.8% increase over November 1996, while industrial exports not including diamonds totalled \$1.26m., a 9.4% increase over the same period one year ago.

While, the high-tech sector and some textile and clothing exporters noted an increase in sales abroad, other traditional industries registered a decrease.

Jennifer Friedlin

Israel Chemicals subsidiary wins \$60m. desalination deal

By DAN GERSTENFELD

Israel Desalination Engineering said yesterday it has won a contract to supply six desalination plants for \$60 million to two Indian refineries.

The company, which is a subsidiary of Israel Chemicals, won two international tenders. IDE will supply the plants to new refineries which are currently being built in the Jamnagar state in northwestern India.

In a statement, IDE said the first installation, which weighs 1,300

tonnes, will be sent to India next week in a ship that was leased especially for this assignment.

Four of the plants would be installed in the world's largest refinery, Reliance, which is currently being built by the American company Bechtel Group in a total investment of \$2.5 billion. The two other plants will be sent to a different refinery operated by the Swiss-Swedish engineering company ABB.

In a statement, CEO David Waxman said IDE recently won another contract for the supply of

six desalination plants to a power plant in Sardinia. In addition, the company sold facilities to the Puerto Rican plant of Enron. The company said it is currently holding 30 percent of the world market for supply of water to the industry, based on the desalination of sea water.

IDE is currently working together with its American partners on the development of the world's largest desalination facility here. This plant will supply 300,000 cubic-meters a day of drinking water to 1.5 million people. The company has so far supplied 300 desalination plants to 40 countries.

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THE DIFFERENCE IS IN THE MONEY

TAN ADV.

TASE falls after Israeli shares decline in NY



Maof 291.74 v 0.56%

Israeli stocks dropped yesterday following losses over the weekend in companies listed both in Tel Aviv and New York. Analysts said the drop was tempered by expectations for a report today showing inflation is subdued. The Maof Index of 25 stocks dropped 0.56 percent to 291.74. The Mishtanim Index of 100 most-traded stocks decreased 0.72% to 279.75. The Tel Aviv Continuous Trading Index lost 0.7% to 93.9.

The Nasdaq Composite Index, which includes a number of Israeli stocks, dropped 1.41% on Friday. Offsetting the drops in Tel Aviv were Bank Leumi le-Israel Ltd., up 0.75% at 5.5, Bezeq Ltd., up 1.5% at 9.4, and Israel Discount Bank Ltd., up 0.75% at 3.56. Bezeq was reiterated "buy" at Sahar Securities. Israel Chemicals Ltd. rose 1.5% to 4.74 after announcing a subsidiary got \$60 million of contracts to supply desalination plants to India. Koor, Israel's largest publicly traded company, will invest \$200 million to form a company that will provide Internet access services, Ma'ariv reported yesterday. On the economic front, the Central Bureau of Statistics is scheduled to release inflation figures for November today. Analysts estimated that the CPI rose 0.3% as housing prices slowed. Stock investors watch interest rates because higher rates force companies to pay more to borrow, cutting into profit and potentially into stock prices. (Bloomberg)

MISHTANIM LEADING TASE ISSUES

Table listing top 100 TASE issues with columns for stock name, last price, and change.

LAST CHANGE

Table listing various TASE issues with columns for stock name, last price, and change.

LAST CHANGE

Table listing various TASE issues with columns for stock name, last price, and change.

STOCKS

the negative trend from what happened on Wall Street, amid a continuation of the crisis in Asian markets. "All of this volatility in the Far East and New York has drifted into our market," said Ron Weisberg, an international trader at Israel Brokerage and Investments. The American depositary receipts of Teva and Koor and the shares of defense contractor Elbit Systems Ltd. lost 7.8%, 4.8% and 5.7% respectively in New York Thursday and Friday. Elbit fell 2.2% to NIS 44.4 in Tel Aviv. Nice ADRs dropped 11% on Wall Street.

RETZEF CONTINUOUS TRADING SHARES

Table listing top 100 RETZEF issues with columns for stock name, last price, and change.

LAST CHANGE

Table listing various RETZEF issues with columns for stock name, last price, and change.

LAST CHANGE

Table listing various RETZEF issues with columns for stock name, last price, and change.

Warburg to make \$800m. bid for Christie's

SBC Warburg Dillon Read, the investment banking arm of Swiss Bank Corp., will offer 500 million pounds (\$800m) for art auction house Christie's International Plc, a source said. Directors of the 231-year-old Christie's were expected to meet yesterday in London to discuss the bid, the person said. The company said last week it was in talks with an unnamed buyer after takeover speculation pushed its shares up 33 percent in four days. The bid would give the auctioneer access to Warburg's financial resources to help it underwrite increasingly expensive art sales, while Warburg would gain from being able to offer Christie's exper-

tise to its private clients wishing to invest in art. Investor interest is increasing in Christie's and rival Sotheby's Holdings Inc., which share the world market for art sales. With sales booming and new markets like Asia and Latin America opening, investors see potential for profit growth. A Texas-based investment group, the Bass family, this week sought US Federal Trade Commission permission to increase its holding in Sotheby's to as much as 25% from 13.5%. Christie's sold \$1.602 billion of art through its sale rooms last year surpassing Sotheby's, which sold \$1.60b., for the first time since 1954. (Bloomberg)

Tel Aviv shares data supplied by Pacific Mediterranean Investments, Tel. 09-958-5873.

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ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

Table showing Patah (foreign currency deposit rates) and Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates for various currencies.

Advertisement for The Jerusalem Post, featuring the headline 'Israel - from every point of view' and 'GENERAL ASSISTANCE'.

These rates vary according to bank. Bank of Israel. Source: BANK LEUMI

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LAST CHANGE

Table listing various KARAM issues with columns for stock name, last price, and change.

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